

# The examinaci

on of Master William Thorpe preste accused  
of heresye before Thomas Arundell/ Archebis-  
hop of Eſcurbury/ the yere of ouer Lorde. M.  
CCCC. and seven.

**T**he examinacion of the honorable knight sye  
Thon Oldcastell Lorde Cobham/ burnt bi the  
said Archebischop / in the fyrste yere of Kynge  
Henry the fyfth.

**I** Benomore ashamed to heare it/ then ye were  
and be/ to do it.



Peace and peace in oure lord  
de Jesu Christe. Reade here  
with iudgemente goode rea-  
der the examinacion of the  
blssed man of god/and there  
thou shalt caselye perceyue  
wherfore oure holy church) as  
the most onholy sorte of all the people wilbe cal-  
led) make all their examinaciōs in darkenes/ all  
thelaye people cleane excluded from their coun-  
cels. For yf their lies had ben openly confuted  
and also that the accused of heresy myghte as  
well haue ben admytted to reasen their articles  
with counceill/whether they were heresy or no  
as the accused of treason agens the king/ is ad-  
mytted to his counceill to confute his cause and  
articles whether they be treason or not/ they  
shulde neuer haue murdered nor prisoned so  
many good christen men as they haue done.

For their clofed lyes could neuer haue contyn-  
ued so long in the lighte/ as they haue done in  
corners. They good men when they/ come in the  
pulpet and preache agens the treuth/ crye: Yf  
their lernynge were goode and trew/ they wold  
neuer go in corners/ but speke it openly. Where  
vnto I answer that besyde that Christe and  
his apostles were compelled( for because of the  
furyousnes of their fathers the bishoppes and  
preastes) whiche onely that tyme also wolde



be called holy chyrche I often tymes for to walke  
secretly/and absent them self and geue place to  
their malice: yet we haue daylye examples off  
more then one or two / that haue not spared nor  
feared for to speake and also preache opnlye the  
trouthe whiche haue ben taken of them prysos  
ned and brent/beside other that for feare of dea  
the haue abiured and caryed fagottes.

Of whos articles and examinacion there ys  
no leye man that can shewe a worde. Who can  
tell wherfore (not many yeres past) there wes  
re seven burnt in conuentrye on one daye: Who  
can tell wherfore that good preaste and holye  
martyr Syr Thomas hitton was brente / now  
thys yere / at maydstone yn Kent? I am sure  
no man. For this is their caste euer when  
they haue put to deathe or punysshed any man/  
after their secreete examynacyon / to slaunder  
hym of sochet hynges as he neuer thought.

As they maye do well I nough: seynge there  
is no man to contrarie them.

Wherfore  
I exhorte the good brother / who seener thou  
be that redest thys treatyse / marke hit well  
and consyder it seryouslye / and there thou shalt  
fynde not onelye what the chyrche ys / theire  
doctryne of the Sacramente / the worshyp pyns  
ge off ymagyes / pylgremage / confessyon /  
Swerynge and payinge of tythes: But  
also thou mayst se what stronge and subsians  
cyall argumentes off scripture and doctours  
res / and what clerkeley reasons / my lorde / the

hedde and prymate of the hōlye chyrche in Eng-  
land (as he wilbetaken) byngeth agenst this  
pore/folysh/symple/and madde losseff / knave / &  
heretike as he casset hym. And also the verye  
cause wherfore all their examynacions are ma-  
de in darkenes. And the lord of all lyght shall  
lighten the with the candle of his grace / for to  
sethe trewth. Amen.

**T**his I haue corrected and put forth in the  
english that now is vsed in Englāde / for ower  
sothern men / nethynge therro addynge  
ne yettherfrom mynysshynge. And I  
entende hereafter with the helpe  
of God to put it forthe in his  
owne olde english / which  
shal well serue / I dou-  
te not / bothe for the  
northern men and  
the saythfull  
brothern  
of scots  
lāde.



Be Lorde god that knoweth  
all thinges wotteth  
well that I am right sor  
rowfull for to write or to  
make known this senten  
ce beneth written where  
that of myne even christe  
sette in his state and dig  
nite so gret blyndnes and malice maye be knowen  
that they that presume of them selfe to destroye  
vices and to planre in men vertues / nother dres  
de to offende god nor luste to please him as their  
marckes show. For certes the biddinge of god at  
his lawe / whiche in the praysynge of his most  
holy name / he commaundeth to be knowen and  
kepte of all men and women / younge and olde :  
after the cōnyng and power y he hath gyuen  
to them / the prelates of this lande and their my  
nisters / with the comente of prestys chesely con  
sentyng to them / enforce them moste besyly to  
withstonde and destroye the holy ordinaunce of  
god. And therethorowe / god is greatly worthe  
and moenyd to take harde vengeance not ones  
ly vpon them that doo the evyll / but also on the  
all that consent to these Antichristys lymnes:  
Which knowe or might knowe their malyce and  
their falshode / and dresse them not to withstonde  
their malice and their greate pryde. Nevertheless  
lesse fower thinges moueth me to write this sen  
tence beneth. The fyrst thinge that moueth me  
hereto is this / that wheras it was knowen to cer



teyn frendes y I came fro the preson of Shrewsbury: and as it befell in dede that I shoulde to the preson of Canterbury: than diuerse frendes in diuerse places spake to me full hartefully and full tenderly: and commaunded me the yf it so were that I shoulde be examined before y Archebyschop of Canterbury/that if I myghte in any wise / I shoulde writte myne apposinge and myne answeringe. And I promysed to my speciall frendes/that yf I might/I wolde gladly do theire biddinges as I might. The .ij. thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this/ diuerse frendes which haue herde that I haue ben examined before y Archebyschop/haue comen to me in prison and counsell'd me besely/ and coueted greatly that I shoulde do the same thyng. And other brethre haue sent to me & required me on goddes behalf y I shold write out & make knowe both myne apposing & myne answerig for y profet y (as they saye) ouer my knowlegig may come therof. But this they badde me y I shold be besye in all my wittes to go as nere y sentece & y wordes as I coulde both that were spokē to me and y I spake. Up anētūre this writing came a nother tyme before y Archebyschop & his counsell. And of this counselling I was right glad: for in my cōsciēce I was moued to do this thing/ & to aske hereto y speciall helpe of god. And so thā I considering y great desyre of diuerse frēdes of sondry places according all in one: I occupied all my wynde & my

writes so besyly y<sup>e</sup> thow goddes grace I per  
ceyued by their meyning & their charitable desy  
re some profete might comether thow. For so  
the fastenesse & trouth hath these cōdiciōs. Whe  
reuer it is impugned : yt hath a swete smell &  
thereof comes a swete savoure. And y<sup>e</sup> more vior  
lently y<sup>e</sup> enemyes dresse thē self to oppresse & to  
withstond y<sup>e</sup> truthe y<sup>e</sup> greater & the sweter smell  
cometh therof. And therefore this heuēly smell  
of goddes worde will not as a smoke passe awa  
ye with the wynde: but it will descend and res  
ste in some clene soule that thrusteth ther after.  
And thus somedele by this wrytynge maye be  
perceyued thow goddes grace how y<sup>e</sup> the ene  
mies of the truthe standing boldely in ther mal  
ice enforce thē to withstonde y<sup>e</sup> fredome of christes  
gospell/for which fredome Chyste became mā/  
and shedde his herte bloode. And therefore it is  
great pytte and sorowe that many mē & women  
do their awne weywart will: nor besye them not  
to knowe nor to doo the plesaunt will of God.  
Ye/men and women that heare the truthe and  
so the fastenesse/ and heare or knowe of this/per  
ceyuyng what is now in the chy:che/ought he  
re thow to be the more moned in all there wit  
tes to able them to grace/and to sett lesser pryse  
by them self/that they without tarynge forsake  
the wilfully and bodely all the wretchednesse off  
this lyfe/syns they knowe not howe soone / nor  
whā/nor where/nor by whome god will teache  
them & assaye their pacience. For no doute who



that euer will lyue piteously that is charitably  
in Christe Jesu shall suffer now here in this lyf  
fe persecucion in one wyse or a nother / that is if  
we shall be sayd: Yt behouyth vs to ymagyn  
fult besyly / the vilite and foulnesse of synne and  
howe the lord god is displeasyd therfore: and so  
of this vilite of hydousnesse of synne it behouyth  
vs to besye vs in all our wyttes for to abhorre &  
holde in our mynde a greate shame of synne es  
uer / and so than we owe to sorowe hartely ther  
fore / and euer flyngt all occasyō therof. And thā  
behouyth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penaunce  
contynuyng therin for to obteyne of the lord for  
geuenesse of oure fore done synnes / and grace  
to abstayne vs hereafter from synne. And but  
yf we enforce vs to deo this wilfully / and in  
conuenient tyme / the lord (yf he will not vterly  
destroie and caste vs awaye) will in diuerse ma  
ners moue tyrantes agaynst vs for to constreyn  
ne vs violently for to do penaunce / whiche we  
woldenot do wilfully. And truste that this  
doynge ys a speciall grace of the Lorde / and a  
great token of lyfe and mercy. And no doute  
who euer will not applye hym selfe (as is seyde  
before) to penythe hym selfe wilfully / nother  
will suffer patiently mekely and gladly the rods  
de of the Lorde howe so euer that he wyll pus  
nysshe hym: their waywarde wyffes and thes  
ir ynpacience are vnto them carnyste of enerlas  
tyng dampnacyon. But because there are but  
fewe in numbze that do able them thus saythe



fully to grace for to lyue here simply and purely  
and without gaff of malyce and of grudgyng  
herefore the louers of thys worlde hate and  
persue them that they knowe pacyent / meke /  
chaste and wylfully poere / hatyng and fleyng  
all worldly vanities and fleshely lustes. For sur  
erly their vertuose condicions are euen contras  
ry to the maners of thys worlde. The thyrde  
thyng that moouyth me to wyte thys sēteceys  
thys. I thought I shall besye me in my selfe  
to doo feythfully that all men and women occu  
pyng all their besynes in knowyng and in kee  
pyng of goddys cōmaundmentys able them  
so to grace that they myght vnderstonde treuly  
the treuthe & haue and vse vertue & prudence &  
so to serue to be lychtenyd from aboue wyth he  
uently wysdom: so that all their wordys & their  
workys may be hereby made plesant sacrifici  
ces vnto the lord god: and not onely for helpe for  
their owne soulys but also for edificacyon of all  
holy chyche. For I doute not but all they that  
wyll applye thē to haue thys foresayd besynesse  
shall profere full mekyness both to frendys and to  
foes. For some enemyes of y treuthe thowethe  
grace of god shall thowen charitable folkes be  
made asconyd in their conscience / and parauē  
ture conuertyd from vyces to vertenys / and also  
they y laboure to knowe & to kepe feythfully the  
byddynges of god & to suffer pacyently all ad  
uersities shall here by cōforte many frēdys And  
the fourte thyng that moouyth me to wyte thys

sete ce is thys I knowe my sodeyn & vnwarnyd  
apposyng & ansueryng y aff they y wyll of goo  
de harte wythout feynnyng able the self wysfully  
and gladly after their connyng ad their powere  
to folowe chryste paciently / traunclyng besyly pry  
uely and apertly in worke and in word to with  
drawe who so euer that they may from vyces  
plantynge in them (ys they may) vertues / cōfor  
tyng them and fortheryng them that stondeyth  
in grace: so that therwyth they be not borne vp  
into veyne glorye threwe presumpeyon of their  
wysdome / nor enflamyd wyth any worldly pros  
perite: but euer meake ad paciente / purposyng  
to abyde stedfastely in the wyll of god suffryng  
wylfully and gladly wythout onye grutchyng  
what so euer roddethe lorde wyll chastyse them  
wyth: than thys goode lorde wyll not forget to  
comforte all soch men and women in all their  
tribulacyons / and at enery poynte of tempteacyō  
that any enemye purposyth for to doo ageynst  
them. Soche feythfull louers speciaffy / and pa  
cient folowers of chryste / the lorde sendyth hys  
wysdome from aboue to them: whych the aduer  
saries of the treuthe may not knowe nor vnder  
stonde. But threwe their olde and newe vnsha  
me faste synnes thosetryantys and enemyes of  
sowthfastnesse shall be so blynded and obstyna  
te in euyll that they shall wene themselves to doo  
plesant sacrifices vnto the lorde god in their  
malicyouse and wrongfull persewyng and des  
troyeng of innocent mennys and womens bo



dyes whych men and women for their vertuon  
selyuyng and for their trew knowlegynge of the  
treueth & their pacyent wilfull & gladde suffe  
ryng of persecutyon for ryghteousnes desers  
ue throw the grace of god to be heyres of the en  
dlesse blysse of heuen. And for the fervent desys  
re and the great loue that those men haue as to  
staunde in so the fastenesse & wytnesse of yt/though  
they ben sodenly & vnwarnyd brought forth to  
be apposyd of their aduersaries: the holy goster  
yet that moenyth & reulyth them throw hys cha  
rite wyll in the houre of their ansueryng speake  
in them & shewe hys wysdome that all their ene  
myes shall not again seye nor against stande  
lawfully. And therefore all they that are steds  
faste in the feythe of god/ye/whyche thow we dili  
get kepynge of hys comaundementys/ & for their  
paciēt sufferyng of what so euer aduersite that  
cometh to them/hope surely in hys mercy: purs  
posyng to stande continually in perfyte charite  
for thoes me and women drede not so the ad  
uersites of this lyfe that they wyll feare (after  
their connyng and their power) to knowlege pru  
dently the truethe of goddys worde/ when/where  
re/and to whomethat they thynke their knowle  
gynge may profete Ye & though therefore perse  
cutyon come to the in one wyse or a nother/cer  
tes thei paciētly take hit knowynge their conuersa  
ciō to be in henē. Yt ys an hye rewarde & a spe  
ciall grace of god for to haue & enioye as y<sup>e</sup> euer  
lastyng inheritaunce of heuen/ for the suffe



ryng of one persecutyon in so shortetyne as ys  
the terme of thys lyfe. For lo thys heuently heri-  
tage and endlesse rewarde is the lord god him-  
selfe wychy is the besterhyng that may be. Thys  
sentēce wytnessyth y lord god hym selfe wher  
as he seyde to Abrahā I am thy mede. And as  
the lord seyde he was and ys the mede of Abra-  
ham: so he ys of all hys other seyntys Thys mos-  
te blessyd and beste mede he graunt to vs all  
for hys holy name that made vs of nought / and  
sent hys onely moste deare woorthy sonne / our  
lorde Jesu chyste for to redeme vs wyth hys mo-  
ste precious harte bloode Amen.

**B**lowen be yt to all men y rede or hea-  
rethys wrytyng benethe: that on the  
sondaye next after the feste of seynt Pe-  
ter / that we call lamnesse in the yeare of our lor-  
de a. M. C C C. and. vij. yeare. I william of  
Thorpe beyng in pryson in the castell of Salts-  
wode was brought before Thomas Arundell  
Archebysshope of Canterbury and Chaunces-  
ler than of England. And when that I came  
to hym / he stode in a great chāber & moch peo-  
ple aboute hym: & when that he sawe me he wēt  
faste into a clesett byddyng all seculer men that  
folowed hym to go forth from hym sone / so that  
no mā was left than in that closet but y Arches-  
bysshop hymselfe and a physician y was callyd  
Malueren person of seynt Dunstons in Lon-  
don & other two personys ynfknowento me wh

ych were minystrys of y<sup>e</sup> lawe. And I stādying  
before the by & by the Archebysshop seyde to me  
William/ I know well y<sup>e</sup> thou hast thys twēty  
wynter & more trauelyd about besyly in y<sup>e</sup> north  
contre & in other diuerse contres of Englād so  
wyng about false doctrine/ hanyng great busy  
nesse yf thou myght wyth thyne vntrew teachyng  
& shrewyd wyll for to infecte and poyson all  
this lāde. But through y<sup>e</sup> grace of god thou art  
now wyth/tondyd & brought in to my warde/  
so y<sup>e</sup> I shall now sequester the from thyne euyl  
purpose/ & lett y<sup>e</sup> to enueneyme y<sup>e</sup> shepe of my pros  
uynce. Neuer the lesse seynt Paul seythe Yf it  
may be as ferre as in vs ys we owe to haue  
peace wyth all men. Therfore William yf thou  
wyllt now mekely & of goode harte/ without onye  
feynyng/ knele downe & leye thy hāde apō a boō  
ke ad kysse yt promysyng feythfully as I shall  
here charge the that thou wilt submyt the to my  
correccyon/ & stāde to myne ordinaūce / & fulfyll  
yt dewly by all thy connyng & power/ thou shalt  
yet fynde me graciously vnto y<sup>e</sup>. Than seyde I to  
y<sup>e</sup> Archebysshop. Syr syns ye deme me an heres  
tyke out of beleue wyll ye gyue me here audiēce  
to tell my beleue. And he seyde/ ye tell on. And I  
seyde I beleue y<sup>e</sup> ther is not but one god almyg  
hty/ & in thys godheed and of thys godhede ar  
thre persones/ y<sup>e</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> fader/ y<sup>e</sup> sonne ad the sothe  
faste holy goste. And I beleue that all thes thre  
persones ar euen in power & in connyng ad in  
myght full of grace & of all goodnesse for what



o ener that the father dothe or can or wyll / that  
hyng also y sonne dothe & can and wyll: ad in  
all their power connyng & wyll y holy goste ys  
equall to the father & to y sonne.ouer thys I  
beleue that thugh counsell of thys moste blessyd  
trinite in moste conuenient tyme before ordenyd  
for the saluacyon of man fynde the seconde  
person of thys trinite was ordenyd to take the  
fourme of man / that is the fynde of man.  
And I beleue that thys seconde person our  
lorde Jesu Chyste was conceiuyd thorough  
the holy goste into the wombe of the moste bless  
yd virgyn Marye wythout manys seede. And  
I beleue that after nyne monethys Chyste was  
borne of thys moste blessyd vergyn wythout  
ony peyne or bryfing of the closter of hyr wom  
be / and wythout fylthe of hyr virginite. And I  
beleue that Chyste our sayour was circumcis  
syd in the eyghtre daye after hys byrthe in fulfil  
lyng of y lawe / and hys name was callyd Jesu  
whych was callyd of y angell before y he was  
conceiuyd in y wōbe of Marie hys moder. And  
I beleue y Chyste as he was about thyrty yea  
re olde was baptizyd in y fludde of Jordane of  
Johñ baptist / & in lyfenesse of a dove y holy go  
ste descendyd there vpon him: and a voyce was  
herde frō heuen seiying. Thou art my welblos  
uyd sonne In the I am full pleasyd. And I  
beleue that Chyste was mocnyd than by the ho  
ly goste for to goo in to desert / & there he fastyd  
fourty dayes ad fourty nyghtes wythout bode  
ly meate & drynk. And I beleue that by and by



after hys fastyng whan the manhode of Chri-  
ste hongeryd the secnde came to hym and reptyd  
hym in glotony/in veyn glory/ and in couetyse/  
but in all thoes temptacyōs Chuste concludyd  
the secnde and with stode hym And than wyth-  
out taryng Jesu began to preache and seye vnto  
the people/doo ye penaunce/for the realme of  
heuen ys now at hande. And I beleue y Chri-  
ste in all hys tyme here lynyed moste holyly and  
taught the wytt of hys fader moste trewly/and  
I beleue that he sufferyd therefore moste wrong-  
fully greatyst repynys and despysynges. And  
after this whan Chuste wolde make an ende  
here of hys tempo:all lyfe. I beleue that in the  
daye next before that he wolde suffer passyon  
on the morne: In fourme of brede and of wyne he  
ordenyd y sacramēte of hys flesh and hys blood y  
ys hys owne precious body/ and gaue it to hys  
apostles for to eate/ commaundyng them and by the  
all their after comers: y they sholde doe it in this  
fourmethat he shewyd to them / vse them self  
and teache and commune forthe to other men and  
woomen this moste worshipfull holiest sacra-  
mēt/in myndefulnesse of hys holiest luyng and  
of hys moste trew teachyng/ and of hys wilfull and  
paciēt sufferyng of the moste peynfull passion  
And I beleue y thus Chuste our sanyour/after  
y he had ordenid this moste woorthy sacramēt  
of hys owne precious body: he wēt forthe wyll-  
fully agenst hys enemyes/and he sufferyd the  
moste patiently to ley their hādys moste violently

2  
vpon hym/and to hynde hym/ & to leade hym  
forthe as a thefe/and to storne hym/ ad buffer  
ad all to blow or fyle hym with their spittinges.  
ouer this I beleue that Christ suffered most  
mekely and paciently his enemies for to dinge  
out with sharpe scourges the bloude that was  
betwene his skyn & his flesh: yee without gruds  
ginge Christ suffered y cruell Jewes to crown  
hym with most sharp thornes and to strike him  
with a rede. And after Christ suffered wicked  
Jewes to draw him out vpon the crosse and for  
to nayle hym there vpon fore and hande. And  
so thorow this pitiefull naylinge Christ shed  
out wilfully for mans lyfe the bloude that was  
in his vaynes. And then Christ gaue wilfully  
his spirite in to the handes or power of his fa-  
ther/and so as he wolde & when he wold Christ  
deid wilfully for mans sake vpon y crosse And  
notwithstadinge y Christ was wilfully/ payne-  
fully ad most shamsully put to deeth as to the  
worlde/there was left bloude and water in his  
herte as he before ordered that he wolde shedde  
out this bloude and this water for mans salua-  
cion. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to ma-  
ke a blinde knyght to thrust him in to the herte  
with a spere and this the bloude and water y  
was in his hert Christ wolde shedde out for mas  
loue. And after this I beleue that Christ was  
taken downe from the crosse and buried And I  
belene that on y thud daye by power of his god  
heed Christ rose again from deth to life. And



the .xl. daye ther after I beleue that Christ ascended vp in to heuen and that he there sitteth on the right hande of god the father almyghty. And the tenth daye after this vp goinge he sente to his apostles the holy goost that he had promysed them before. And I beleue that Christe shall come and iudge all mankinde / some to euerlastinge peace and some to euerlastyng paynes. And as I beleue in the father and in the sonne that they are one god almyghty / so I beleue in the holy goost that is also with them the same god almighty. And I beleue an holy chyrche that is all thei / that haue byn and that now are and alwayes to the ende of the worlde shalbe a people the which shall endeuer them to knowe & to kepe the commaundementes of god / dreadinge ouer all thynge to offende god and lovyng and sekyng most to please hym. And I beleue that all they that haue had and yet haue and all they that yet shall haue the foresayde ver-  
vertuous surely standyng in the belefe of god / hoppyng stedfastly in hys mercifull doynges / continuinge to their ende in perfect charite / wilfully / patiently and gladly soferyng persecuciōs / by the example of Christ chesly and his apostles / all these haue their names wyrtē in the booke of life. Therfor I beleue that the gaderyng together of this people luyng now here in this lyfey is the holye chyrche of god seyghtyng here on erth agaynst the fende / the prosperyte of the worlde and their fleshely lustes. Wherefore seying



that all the gadering together of this church be  
fore said and euery parte therof nother coueteth  
nor wisseth nor loveth nor sefeth any thinge bus  
to eschew the offence of god and to do his pleas  
synge wiff: mekely / gladly and wilfully of all  
myne herte I submitt my selfe vnto thys holye  
church of christ to be ever bursum and obediente  
to the ordinance of it and of euery member the  
reof after my knowlege and power by the helpe  
of god. Therfore I knowlege now ad euermore  
re shall / if god wiff / that of all my harte and off  
all my might I will submyt me only to the rus  
le and gouernaunce of them whome after my  
knowlege I maye perceave by the havynge and  
vsynge of the besoresayd vertues to be membres  
of the holy church. Wherfore these articles off  
belefe and all other bothe of the olde lawe and  
of the newe / whiche after the commaundemens  
of god any man ought to beleue / I beleue ver  
rely in my soule as a synnefull deedly wretche  
of my cunnyng and power ought to beleue  
prayenge the lord god for his holye name for  
to encrease my belefe and helpe my vnbelefe.  
And for by cause to the praysynge of goddes na  
me I desyre aboue all thyng to be a saythfull  
membre of holy church I make this protestas  
cyon before you all foure that are now here pre  
sente / covetyng that all men and women that  
nowe absentef newe the same / that what thynge  
so ever before this tyme I haue sayde or do  
ne / or what thynge here I shall doe or saye

at any tyme here after. I beleue that all the olde lawe and the newe lawe geuen and ordened by the counceff of these thre persones of the trysnite were geuen and wyrtten to the saluacyon off mankynde.

And I beleue that these lawes are sufficient for mans saluacyon.

And I beleue every article of these lawes to the entente that these articles were ordened and commaunded of these thre persones off the moste blessed trynity to be beleued.

And therefore to the rule and the ordynaunce off these goddes lawes mekely / gladly and wilfully I submytte me with all myne harte that who ever can or wyll by quictoryte off goddes lawe / or by open reason / tell me that I haue erred or nowre erre or any tyme here after shaff erre in any article of belefe (fro whyche inconueniencce god kepe me for his goodnesse) I submytte me to be reconcyled and to be burum and obedyente vnto these lawes of god and to every article of them.

For by auctorite / specysally of these lawes / I will / thowowe the grace of god / be vnyed charitably vnto these lawes.

Yee syr and ouer this I beleue and admytte all the sentences / auctorites and reasons off the sayntes and doctoures accordyng vnto holy scripturæ and declaryng it truly.

I submytte me wylfully and mekely to be euer obedyente after my conyng and power to all these sayntes and doctoures as they are obedyente in worke and in worde to god and



to his lawe/and forther not to my knowlege nor  
for any erthly power dignite or state / thorowe  
the helpe of god. But Syr I praye you tell me  
yf after youre bidding I shall laye my hande  
vpon the boke to the entente to swere thereby?

And the Archebishope sayde to me / yee / whers  
fore els? And I sayde to him. Syr a boke is no  
thyng els but a thyng coupled together of dy  
uerse creatures / and to swere by any creature  
both gods lawe and mans lawe is agaynst.

But Syr: this thinge I saye here to you before  
these youre clerkes / with my forsayd protestaci  
on / that howe where / when and to whom men  
are bounde to swere or to obeye in any wyse after  
gods lawe and sayntes & trewe doctours accor  
ding with gods lawe: I will thorow gods gra  
ce be euer redy therto with all my conning & po  
wer. But I pray you syr for y charite of god y  
ye will before that I swere as I haue here res  
herseed to you tell me how or whereto y I shall  
submytt me: & shewe me wherof y ye will cor  
recte me: & what is the ordinance that ye will  
thus oblige me to fulfyll.

And y Archebishop seid vnto me. I will shor  
tely that now thou swere here to me that thou  
shalt forsake all the opinions which the secte of  
Lollardes holde / and is slaundred with: so that  
after this tyme nother pryuely nor apertly thou  
holde any opiniō which I shall after that thou  
hast sworn reherse to y here. Nor thou shalt fa  
uer no man nor womā / yong nor old y holderh

any of thes foreseid opiniōs: but after thi know-  
lege & power thou shalt enforce the to withstande  
de all soche distrobler of holye chyche in euery  
diocesethat thou comest in: & the that will not le-  
aue their false and dampnable opinions thou  
shalt putt them vp publeshyng them and theyr  
names/and make them knowen to y<sup>e</sup> bishope of  
the diocesethat they are in or to the bishopes my-  
nistres. And ouer this I will that thou preach  
no more vnto the tyme that I know by good wit-  
nesse & trewe y<sup>e</sup> thy cōuersacion be soch that thy  
harte & thy mouth accorde treuly in one cōtrari-  
yng all y<sup>e</sup> leude learnyng that thou hast taught  
here before.

And I hearyng thes wordes thought in my  
harte that this was an vnlesfull asking: & I de-  
myd myself cursed of god/ yf I cōsented hereto  
& I thought howe Susan seid. Anguyssch is to  
me on every syde. And in y<sup>e</sup> I stode still & spake  
not/ the Archebishop seid to me. Answer one  
wyse or a nother. And I seid. Syr/ if I cōsens-  
ted to you thus/ as ye haue here reher sed to me/  
I shold become an appelar/ or euery bishop is es-  
pye/ somonour of all Englonde. For & I sholde  
thus put vp/ & publeshe y<sup>e</sup> names of mē & womē  
I sholde here in deceive full many persones: ye  
syr as it is likely by y<sup>e</sup> dome of my cōsciēce I shol-  
de herein because of y<sup>e</sup> dethe both of mē & womē  
ye both bodely & gostely. For many mē & womē  
that stande now in y<sup>e</sup> treuthe/ & are in y<sup>e</sup> waye of  
saluacyon: yf I shold for the learnyng & redyng



of their beleue publesbethē & put thē therfor vp  
to bissshopes or to their unpituousse ministers I  
knowe some dele by experience ȳ they shulde be  
so distrobled & diseased with persecuciō or other  
wise ȳ many of thē (I thinke) wold rather chose  
to forsake the waye of treuthe thā to be traueled  
spoiled & slaundred or punished as bissshopes &  
their ministres now vse for to constreine men &  
women to consent to thē. But I fynde in no pla  
ce in holy scripture / that this office ȳ ye wolde  
now enfeffe me with accordith to any prieste off  
christes secte / nor to any other christē man. And  
therfore to do thus werto me a full noye on s bō  
de to be boundē with & ouer greuousse charge.  
For I suppose ȳ yf I thus dede many men &  
women wold / ye syr / might iustly vnto my cōfu  
sion sey to me / that I wer a traitur to god and to  
them: syne (as I thinke in myne hert) many mē  
and womē truste so mekle in me in this case / ȳ  
I wold not for saynyng of my lyfe do thus to thē  
for yf I thus sholde do full many mē & womē  
wolde (as they might full truely sey / that I had  
de fasly and cowardly forsaken the truthe / & sla  
undred shamefully the worde of god. For yf I  
cōsented to you to do hereafter your will for bon  
chefe or mischef ȳ may befall to me in this lyfe /  
I deme in my conscience ȳ I were worthy he  
refore to be cursed of god & also of all his soynce  
res / fro which inconuenience kepe me & all chris  
ten people almighti god now & euer for his hoz  
ly name. And than the Archbisshop said vnto

to me. O thynne harte is full harde endured as  
was y herte of Pharaos / & the deuell hath ouer  
comē the & peruerred the / & he hath so blynded  
the in aff thy wittes / that thou haste no grace to  
knowe the treuthe / nor y mesure of mercye y I  
haue profered to y. Therfor as I perceyue now  
by thy folish answere / thou hast no will to leaue  
thyne olde errours. But I sey to y lende losell /  
other thou quikly consente to myne ordinaunce  
& submitte y to stande to my decrees: or by seyns  
Thomas thou shalt be disgraded / & folowethy  
felow in Smithfelde. And at this seying I  
stode styll and spake not / but I thought in mys  
ne harte y god did to me a greate grace / yf he  
wolde of his greate mercy bringe me to soch an  
ende. And in myne hart I was nothing frayde  
with this menasig of y archbishop. And I cō  
sidered there. ii. thiges in hi. One / y he was not  
yet sorowfull for y he had made Willia Soutre  
wrongfully to be burnt. And as I consydered  
that y Archbishop thyrted yet after more shes  
dig out of innocent bloode. And fastherfore I  
was moved in aff my wittes for to hold y arche  
bishop nother for prelate nor for preist of god / &  
for y myne inward mā was thus altogether de  
parted frō y archbishop me thought I sholde  
not haue ony dreade of hi. But I was right he  
uy & sorowfull for y ther was none audiece of se  
culer mē by: but in myn hart I praid y lord god  
for to cōforte me and strength me ageinst the y  
thereware agaynsie the soch fastenesse. And



I purposed to speake no more to the Archebys  
shop & his clerkes than me nede behoued: & all  
thus I praied god for his goodnesse to geue me  
than & alwaye grace to speake with a meke &  
an easy spyrit: & what soeuer thinge y I shulde  
speke that I might therto haue true authorites  
of scriptures or open reason. And for y I stode  
thus still & nothing spake/one of the Archebys  
shopes clerkes seid vnto me.

What thing musist thou do thou as my lor  
de hath now comaunded to the here.

And yet I stode still & answered him not/ &  
than sone after y Archebys hope seid to me. Arte  
thou not yet bethought/whether thou wilt do/as  
I haue here seid to the? And I seid thā to hym.

Syr my father & my mother on whose soules  
god haue mercy(yf it be his will) spent me fyft  
money in diuerse places about my learning for  
the entent to haue made me a prest to god. But  
when I came to yeaeres of discrecion/I had no  
will to be preiste/ & therefore my frēdes were ris  
ght heuy to me/ & thā me thought their grudgig  
agenst me was so pcyntfull to me/y I purposed  
therfor to haue lefte their cōpany. And whē thei  
perceined this in me they spake some tyme full  
feire & plesaunt wordes to me: but for y thei mis  
ght not make me to cōsent of goode harte to be a  
preiste/thei spake to me full oft tymes very gre  
uous wordes/ & manassed me i diuerse maners  
therwightome full heuy there. And thus one whi  
le i feire maner/a nother while in greuous they

wer lōg tyme as me thought full besy about me  
or I cōsentid to thē to be a prieste. But at y laste  
whā in this matter thei wold no lōger suffer my  
ne excusacions/but other I sholde cōsent to thē  
or I sholde euer beare their indignacion / ye/  
their curse(as thei seide) Thā I seing this pras  
id them that they wold gyue me licence for to go  
to them that wer named wyse priestis and of ver  
teuous conuersacion to haue their counsell/ ād  
to knowe of them the office & the charge of pries  
sthode. And hereto my father and my mother  
consented full gladly/ād gaue me their blissing  
and goode leaue to go/and also money to spens  
de in this iourney. And so than I went to tho  
priestis whome I herde to be of beste name/ ād  
of moste holy lyuyng/and beste learnid/ & moste  
wyse of heuenly wil dome: and so I communed  
with them vnto the tyme that I perceuyd by  
their vertuous and continuall occupacions y  
their honeste and charitable werkis passid their  
same wich I herde before of them. Wherefore  
sy: by the example of the doctrine of them / and  
speciallly for the godly & innocent wor: fis wich  
I perceiued than of them and in them/after my  
conning and power I haue exercised me than  
and in this tyme to knowe perfectly goddis las  
we/hauing a will and a desyre to lyue ther af  
ter/willing that all men and women exercised  
thē self feithfully ther aboute. Yf than sy: other  
for pleasure or displeasure of them that ar nor  
ther so wyse/nor of so verteuouse conuersacion



to my knowlege / nor by comone fame to any  
other mannis knowlege in this lande as thes  
men wer of whome I toke my counsell and in-  
formation: I sholde now forsake this sodenly  
and shortly ad vntwarnid all the learning y I  
haue exercised my self in this thirty winter and  
more. My conscience shulde euer be herewith  
out of mesure vnquietid / & as syr I knowe well  
that many men and women sholde be ther thro  
we greatly troublid and sclaunderid / and as I  
seid syr to you before. For myne vntrewthe and  
false cowardnesse many a one sholde be put into  
full great reprefe / ye syr I drede / that many a  
one (as thei might than instely / wolde curse me  
full bitterly / and syr I feare not / but the curse of  
god / wiche I sholde deserue here in / wolde bring  
me to a full euyl ende / yf I continewid thus.  
And if thorough remorse of conscience I repented  
me any tyme retourning in to the waye / wiche /  
you doo your diligence to constreine me now to  
forsake / ye syr / all y bisschopis of this lade with  
full many other priestis wolde defame me / and  
pursue me as a relapse / and thei that now haue  
(though I be vnworthy) some confidence in me  
here after wolde neuer truste to me though I  
cowld teache and liue neuer so vertuously mo-  
re than I can or may. For if after your counsell  
I leste utterly all my learning / I sholde hereby  
firste wounde and defyle myne owne soule / ad  
also I shulde herethrough geue occasiō to ma-  
ny men and women of full sore hurting / ye syr

as it is likely to me/ if I consentid to your will  
I sholde herein by myne euill example in it/ as  
ferre as in me wer/ sley many folke gostely / that  
I sholde neuer deserue for to haue grace of god  
to the edifyng of his churchenether of my self/  
nor of none other mannes lyfe: & vndone bothe  
before god & man. But sy? by example chesely  
of some whos names I will not now reherse/  
S/of I/P/and B/and also by the present do-  
yng of Philip of Rāpenton that is now becomē  
Bisshop of Lincoln I am now learnid as ma-  
ny me hereafter thorow goddis grace shall be  
learnid/to hate & to fle all soche sclaūder ȳ thes  
foresaid men chesely haue defyled principally  
thē selves with. And in it ȳ in thē is they haue  
enuenemid all ȳ church of god for ȳ sclaundes  
rous renokynge at ȳ crosse of paulis of B. P. &  
of B/ & how now Philip Rāpenton perseweth  
cristis people. And ȳ feining/ȳ thes men dis-  
semble by worldly proudece kepynge thē cowardly  
in their preaching and communynge within the  
bondis & termes (with without blame may be  
spokyn and shewid out to the moste worldly ly-  
uers) will not be vnponissid of god. For to the  
pointe of trewthe that thes men shewid out for  
me tyme they will not now stretch forth their ly-  
ues. But by example eche one of them as their  
wordis and their workis shewe they besy them  
thorow their feinyng: for to sclaunder and to per-  
serue Christe in his membres / rather than they  
will be persewid.



And the Archebissshop seid to me. Thes men  
the wichthon spekist of now wer foolis and he-  
retiques: whan they wer countid wyse men of  
the and other soche loselles. But now they ar  
wyse men/though thou and soche other deme  
them unwyse. Neuerthelesse I wiste neuer nos-  
ne/that right seide/that eny while were enueny-  
med with your contagiousnesse / that is/contam-  
minate and sportid doctrine.

And I seid to the Archebissshop. Syr I thin-  
ke well that thes men and soche other ar now  
wyse as to this worlde/but as their wordis sou-  
did sometyme and their workis shewid outwar-  
dly/it was likely to moue me y they hadde ears-  
neste of the wisdom of god/and that they shoul-  
de haue deseruid myself grace of god to haue sas-  
uyd their owne soules and meny other mennis  
if they hadde continewid feithfully in wilfull  
pouerte and in other symple vertenous luyng  
and specialy/if they hadde with thes foreseide  
vertueis continewid in their besy frutesfull sor-  
wing of goddis worde: as to many mennys  
knowlege they occupied the a season in all their  
wittes full besyly to knowe the plesaunt will of  
god/trauelyng all their meembres full besily for  
to doo ther after/purely and chesely to the prais-  
sing of the moste holy name of god/and for gra-  
ce of edificacion and saluacion of cristen people  
But wo worthe false couetise / and euill couns-  
sell/and tyrannye by wich they and many men  
and women ar ledde blyndely into an euill

ende.

Than the Archebissshop seide to me. Thou & soche other losellis of thy secte wolde shaue your berdis full nere for to haue a benefice. For by Jesu I knowe none more couetous shrewis than ye ar/when that ye haue a benefice. For lo I gaue to John Purnay/a benefice but a myle out of this castell/and I herde more compleins is aboute his couetousnesse for tythes and other mysdoyngeys than I didde of all men that wer anauncid within my diocesse.

And I seide to the Archebissshop. Syr pursay is nother with you now for the benefice y<sup>e</sup> gaue hym/nor he holdith feithfully with the learnyng that he sawght and writ before tyme and thus he shewith hym self nother to be hote nor colde:and therefore he and his felaws may sore drede that if they tome not hastely to y<sup>e</sup> waye that they haue forsakyn:parauenture they be put out of the nombre of cristis chosyn people.

And the Archebissshop seide. Though Pursay be now a false harlot I quyte me to hym/but come he more for soche cause before me: or we departe I shall knowe with whome he holdith. But I sey to the. Whiche ar thes holy mē and wyse of whome thou haste takyn thyne information.

And I seide. Syr/ Master John Wicleff was holden of full many men the greatiste clerke that they knewe than lyuyng/and therewith he was namid a passing ruely man and anymo



cent in his lynyng and herefore greate men  
commonlyd ofte with hym and they louyd so his  
learnynge that they writ it / and besily enforcid  
them to rule themself there after. Therfore syz  
this foresaid learnynge of Master John Wic  
cleff is yet holden of full many men and womē  
the moste agreable learning vnto the lyuing and  
teachynge of Criste and of his Apostles / a moste  
openly shewing and declaring how the chyrche  
of Criste ha the ben and yet shulde be reuelid and  
gouernid. Therfore so many men and women  
couet this learnynge / a purpose / thorough gods  
dis grace to conformet heir lynyng lyke to this  
learnynge of Wiccleff. Master John aiston tas  
wght and writ accordingly and full besily wher  
and whan / and to whome that he myght / and  
he vsid it hymself right perfutely vnto his lifes  
ende. And also Philip of Rampenton while he  
was a chanone of Lacester / Nicolas Berforde  
Sany Gotray of Pafring monke of Bylande  
and a master of diuinite / and John Purnay and  
many other wich wer holden right wise men and  
prudent tawcht and writ besily this foresaid lear  
nyng and conformid them therto. And with all  
thes men I was ofte right homely and commus  
nyd with them long tyme and ofte: and so befor  
re all other men I choes wilfully to be in four  
myd of them and by them and specially of Wi  
cleff hymself / as of the moste verueous and gods  
ly wyse mē that I herde of or knewe. And ther  
fore of hym specially and of thes men I tooke

the learning that I haue tauchte and purpose  
to lyue here after (if god will) to my lyues ende.

For though some of thes men be contrary to the  
learning that they taucht before I wrote well y<sup>e</sup>  
their learning was trewe wiche they tauchte: and  
therfore with the helpe of god I purpose to hol  
de and to vse the learning wiche I harde of the  
while they sat on Moyses chaire/and specially  
while that they sat on the chaire of Criste. But  
after y<sup>e</sup> werk is that they now do I will not doo  
with goddis helpe. For they feyne and hyde and  
contrarie the trewe wiche before they taucht out  
plenily and trewly. For as I know well when  
some of thes men haue ben blamyd for their  
sclaunderous doyng/they graunte not that they  
haue tauchte a misse or erryd before tyme/ but y<sup>e</sup>  
they were constreinyd by paine to leaue to tell  
out the sothe/and thus they choese now rather  
to blaspheme god than to suffer awhile here  
persecucion bodely for sothe fastnesse that Chris  
te shed out his harte bloode for.

And the Archebissshop seid. That learning  
that thou callist trewe and sothe fastnesse is  
open sclaunder to holy chirche / as it is pros  
uyd of holy chirche. For all be it / that Wis  
cleff your antour was a great clerke & though  
that many men helde hym a perfite lyuer yet  
his doctrine is not approuyd of holy cherche  
but many sentencis of his learning ar dāp  
nyd as they well woorthy ar. But as toun  
shing Philip of Rāpton y<sup>e</sup> was first chanone



and after Abbot of Laucester which is now bisshop of Lincoln: I tell the that the daye is comen for wich he fastyd the euene. For nother he holdeth now/nor will he holde the learnyng that he taughte when he was a Chanon of Laucester. For no bisshop of this lāde perseweth now more sharply them that holde thy waye than he doeth.

And I seid. Syr: full many men and women wonderith vpon hym and speakith hym mekyl shame and holdith him for a cursid enemye of the treuthe.

And the Archebisshop seid to me. Wherfore tariest thou me thus here with soche fables/wilt thou shortly (as I haue seid to the) submit the to me or no?

And I seid. Syr: I tell you at one worde/I dare not for the drede of god submit me to you after the tenour and sentēce that ye haue aboue rehersed to me.

And than as if he hadde ben wrothe he seid to one of his clerkis. Gethe hider quikely the certificaciō that came to me fro Shrewisbury vnder the bailiues seale witnessing the errors & heresies which this losell hath venemously sowen there.

Than hastely the Clerke tooke out / and leid forth on a cupborde diuerseroffis and writtingis/among which ther was a litle one/which y clerke deliuered to the Archebisshop. And by & by the Archebisshop redde this rolle cōceinyng

this sentence.

**T**he thyrde sonday after easter the yere of our  
reloarde. M. CCC. and senen/William Thorpe  
came vnto the towne of Shrewisbury / and  
thorow leaue graunted vnto him to preache:

He said openly in seynt Chaddis chirche in his  
sermone/that the Sacramēt of the altare after  
the consecracion was materiall brede.

And y ymages shulde in no wise be worshiped.  
And that men shulde not go on pilgrimages.  
And that priestes haue no ritle to tythes. And  
that it is not lesuff for to swere in any wise.

And whan the Archebishop had red thus  
thys rolle/he rolled it vp ageyn/and said to me.  
Ys this holsome learnynge to be amonge the  
people?

And I said to him. Syr I am both ashamed  
on their behalfe and right sorowfull for the that  
haue certified you thes thinges thus vntrewly:  
for I preached neuer nor taughte thus priuely  
nor apertly.

And the Archebishop said to me. I will geue  
ue credence to thes worshipfull men which haue  
ue writen to me and witnessed vnder their sealis  
there amongethem. Though thou now deniest  
this: wenist thou y I will geue credence to the?  
Thou losell hast trobled y worshipful cominalke  
of Shrewisbury/so that the bailives and comi  
nalke of that towne haue writen to me praynge  
me that am Archebishop of Caunterbury / primate  
and Chaunceler of England/that I will



vouchsafe to graunte them / that yf thou shalt be  
made (as thou art worthy) to suffer open 'Zou-  
resse for thyne heresy'es / that thou maye haue  
thy youresse openly ther among them: so that all  
they whom thou and soche other lo'selles haue  
ther peruerred / may thorow feare of thy dede be  
reconsyled ageyn to the vniue of holy chyrche.

And also they that stande in true faythe of holy  
churche may thorow thy dede be more stablis-  
shed therein. And as yf this askyng hadde pleas-  
sed the Archebischop / he said. By my thrifte this  
hartye prayoure and seruate requeste shall be  
thought on.

But certeynly nother the prayer of the men  
of Shrewisbery / nor the manassynge of the Ar-  
chebischoppe made me any thinge a frayde.

But in rehersyng of this malice and in the hear-  
ryng of it my herte greatly reioysed and yet dor-  
the. I thanke god for the grace that I than-  
k thought and yet thinke shall come to all the chir-  
che of god here thorow / by the speciali' mercys  
full doynge of the lorde. And as hauynge no  
dreade of the malice of tyrauntes / by trustyng  
stedfastly in the helpe of the lorde with full pur-  
pose for to knowlege the sothefastnesse / and to  
stande thereby after my connyng and power I  
said to the Archebischop. Syr: yf the truthe of  
gods worde might now be accepted as it sholde  
be / I doubt not to proue by lykely euidence / that  
they that are famed to be out of the faythe of ho-  
ly church in Shrewisbery & in other places also

are in the true faith of holy churche. For as their  
wordes sounde/and their workes shewe to mā  
nisiugemēt dreading & louyng faithfully god  
their will/their desyre/their loue/& their besines  
se are moste sett to dreade to offende god/& to los  
ue for to please him in true & faithfull keeping of  
his commaundementes. And agene they y are  
said to be in the faith of holy churche in Shres  
wisbery and in other places / by open euidence  
of their proude/enuiouse/maliciouse/couetouse  
lecherouse and other foule wordes & workes no  
ther knowe nor haue will to knowe nor to occu  
pye their wittes truely and effectiously in the  
righte faith of holy churche. Wherfore all these  
nor none that folowetheir maners shall ony tyme  
come verely in the faith of holy churche/ex  
cept they enforce them more truelye to come in  
the waye whiche nowe they despyse. For  
these men and women that are nowe called fe  
ythfull and holden iuste/nother knowe nor will  
exercyse them selfe to knowe of faythfulnesse or  
ne commaundement of god. And thus full  
many men and women now/and specially me  
that are named to be principall ymmes of holy  
church siere god to greate wrathe and deserue  
his curse for that they call or holde them iuste  
men whiche are full vniuste as their vicyouse  
wordes/their greate customable sweringe/and  
their slaūderouse and shamefull workes shew  
openly and witnesse. And herefor soche vicious  
se men and vniuste in their owne confusyon



cast them vniuste men and women / which after  
their power and conning besy them self to lyne  
iustely after the commaundement of god. And  
where syr ye say / that I haue distrobled the comi  
nalte of Shrewisbery and many other men &  
women with my teaching / yf it thus be / it is not  
to be wondred of wise men / syns all the cominal  
te of the cyte of Jerusalem was destrobled off  
christes awne person that was very god & mā  
and most prudent precher that euer was or shal  
be. And also all the Synagoge of Nazareth  
was moued ageynste Chuste and so fulfysfed  
with ire towards him for his preachinge / that  
the men of the Synagoge rose vp and cast Chri  
ste out of their cyte / and ledde him vppe to the  
toppe of a moūtayne for to caste him downether  
hedelinge. Also accordingly hereto the lord wit  
nessyth by Moses / that he shall put dissension  
betwixt his people and the people that contraris  
eth and persewith his people. Who syr is he y  
shall preache the treuthe of goddes worde to y  
vnfeithfull people / and shall let the sothe faste  
nesse of y gospell & the prophecye of god almis  
ghyte to be fulfissed?

And the archebishop said to me. It foloweth  
of thes thy wordes / y thou & soche other thifst  
y ye do right well for to preach & teach as ye do  
without authoite of any bishope. For ye presu  
me / that y lorde hath chosen you only for to prea  
che as faithfull disciples and speciall folowars  
of Chuste

And I said. Syr by authorite of gods lawe  
a also of seintes a doctours I am learned to des  
me/y it is euery priestes office and dentic for to  
preache besily frely and truly y worde of god.  
For no doute euery priest shold purpose fyrst in  
his soule a conent to take y order of priesthode  
chiesly for to make knowe to y people y worde of  
god after his conning a power approuyng his  
wordes euer to be true by his vertuous workes  
and for this entent we suppose y bishopes and  
other prelates of holy churche shold chiesly take a  
rise ther prelacie. And for the same cause/bisho  
pes sholde ayeue to priestes their orders. For bis  
hopes sholde accept no mā to priesthode except  
that he had good will a full purpose/a wer wel  
disposed/a well learned to preache. Wherefore  
syr by the bidding of Christ a by example of his  
moste holy lyuyng a also by y witnessinge of his  
holy aposiles a prophetes we are bounde vnder  
fult great peyne to exerceyse vs after our cōning  
and power(as euery prieste is like wise charged  
of god)to fulfyll dewly the office of priesthode.  
We presume not here of oure selves for to be es  
timated(nether in oure owne reputaciō nor in no  
ne other mannes)faithfull disciples ad speciall  
followers of Christ:but syr/as I said to you be  
fore/we demethis by authorite chiesly of gods  
des worde/that it is y chiefe dentic of euery prie  
ste to besy them feithfully to make y law of god  
known to his people/and so to comune the cō  
maundement of god charitably howe that we



may besie/where/whan/a to/whome y euer we  
may is our very deutie. And for the will a besy  
nesse that we owe of durre date to do iustly our  
office thorow the steyring ad speciall helpe (as  
we trust) of god/hoping stedfastly in his mers  
cy/we desyre to be the feithfull disciples of chri  
ste: and we praye this gracions lord for his ho  
ly name/that he make vs able so to please hym  
with deuoute prayers and charitable priestly  
worke/that we may obteyne of him to folowe  
him thankfully.

And the Archebishop said to me. Lewde los  
sell wherto makist thou seche veyne reasones to  
me. Asketh not seynt Paul/how sholde priestes  
preche/except they be sent? But I sent y neuer  
to preche. for thy venemous doctryne is so kno  
wen thorow our Englōd/y no bishop will ad  
mitte the for to preache by witnessyng of their let  
ters. Why than lewde ydiote wilt thou presu  
me to preach/syns thou art not sent nor licensed  
of thy souereyn to preach. Saith not seynt Pau  
le/that subiectes owe to obeye their souereyns/ad  
not only good and vertuous: but also tyrauntis  
that are vicious?

And I said to the archebishop. Syr/as tou  
ching your letter of licēce or other bishopes/whi  
che ye say we sholde haue to witnesse y we wer  
able to be sent for to preache? we knowe well y  
nother you syr/nor any other bishop of this lan  
de will graunte to vs any soche letters of licence  
but we shelde oblige vs to you a to other bisshe

pes by vnlesfull othes for to passe not y bodes &  
termes which ye syr or other bishopes wil lym  
yt to vs. And sins it his matter your termis be  
someto large/a someto streite we dare not obli  
ge vs thus to be bounde to you for to kepe y terms  
is/which you will lymitt to vs/as ye do to fries  
re & sech other prechers: & therfor though we ha  
ue not your letter sir nor letters of other bishopes  
write with ynfe vpō perchemēt: we dare not here  
for leaue y office of preching/to which preching  
all priestes after there cōnyng & power are bo  
unde by diuerse testimonies of gods lawe & off  
great doctours without ony mēciō making of bi  
shopes letters. For as mekell as we haue takē  
vpō vs y office of priesthode (though we are un  
worthy thereto) we come & purpose to fulfyll it  
with y helpe of god by authorite of his owne la  
we/and by witnesse of great doctours & seintes  
accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in y mere  
cy of god. For y he commaundeth vs to do the  
office of priesthode/he will be our sufficient lets  
ters & witnesse/if we by example of his holy ly  
uing & teaching specialy occupye vs feithfully  
to do our office iustly / ye y people to whom we  
preache/bethey feithfull or vnfeithfull shall be  
our letters y is our witnesse berers. For y trens  
the where it is seruen maye not be vnwitnessed.  
For all that are conuerted & saned by learninge  
of goddes worde and by working thereafter are  
witnessse berers/y the trowth and sothfastnesse  
whiche they harde and dyd after is cause off



their saluacion. And ageyn/all vnfeythfull me  
a womē which herde the treuthe tolde out to the  
a wolde not do there after: also all they that mi  
ght haue herde the treuthe and wolde not heare  
it/because that they wolde not do thereafter/all  
thes shall beare witnesse ageinst them selves /a  
the treuthe which they wolde not heare/or els har  
den a despised to do thereafter thow their vn  
feythfulness is and shall be cause of their dāp  
nacion. Therefore syr/syns this forside witnes  
sing of god a of diuerse seintes a doctours/a off  
all y people good a euill sufficeth to all true pre  
chers: we thinke that we do not y office of prest  
hode/if that we leaue our preaching/because y  
we haue not or: maye not haue dewly bisschops  
letters to witnesse that we are sent of the to prea  
che. This sentence approueth seynt Paul/wher  
he speketh of him selfe a of feithfull apostles a  
disciples saing thus. We neede no letters of cō  
mēdacion as some other preachers do /whiche  
preache for couetousnes of tēporall goodes and  
for mēnes praising. And wher ye say syr y paul  
biddeth subiectes obey their souereyns /this is  
soth/a may not be denied. But ther is. ij. maner  
of souereyns/vertuous sufferēys a vicious tyra  
ūtes. Therefore to thes last souereyns nother mē  
nor womē y be subiecte oweto obey i. ij. maners  
To vertuous sufferēys a charitable / subiectes  
oweto obey wilfully a gladly/in hearig of their  
good cōsēll/i cōsentig to their charitable biddin  
ges/a in werkynge after their frutefull workes

This sentence Paul approueth wher he saith  
thus to subiectis. Be ye mindefull of your soues  
reynes that speke to you the worde of god / and fo  
low you the feithe of them whos conuersacion  
you know to be vertenous. For as Paul saith  
after / thes souereynes to whome subiectis owe to  
obeye in folowing of their manere / worke besily  
in holy studyng / how they may withstande ad  
destroie vices firste in themself / and after in all  
their subiectis / and how they may besie plante  
in them vertues. Also thes souereynes make des  
uoute and feruent prayers for to purchase grace  
of god / that they ad their subiectis may ouer all  
thing dreade to offende hym & to loue for to ples  
ase hym. Also thes souereynes to whome Paul  
biddeth vs obey as it is seid before lyue so vers  
mously that all they that will lyue well may tas  
ke of them goode example to knowe and to kepe  
the commaundmentis of god. But in this fore  
seid wyse / subiectis owe not to obeye nor to be  
obedient to tyrauntis / whyle they ar vicious ty  
rauntis / syns their will / their counsell / their bid  
dingis / ad their workis ar so vicious that they  
owe to be hand and lefte. And though soche ty  
rauntis be masterfult and cruell in hostyng ad  
mana sing in oppressions & diuerse punysshyn  
gis: scynt Petyr biddeth the seruauntis of soche  
tyrauntis to obey mefely to soche tyrauntis / suffe  
ring patiently their malicious cruelnes. But  
Petyr counsellith not ony seruant or subiecte to  
obey to ony lorde or prince or souereyn in ony



thyng that is not pleasing to god.

And the Archebissshop said vnto me. Yf a souereyn bidde his subiecte doo that thing that is vicious / this souereyn herein is to blame: but the subiecte for his obedience deserveth mede of god for obediēce pleasith more to god than any sacrifice.

And I said. Samuel the prophete said to Saul the wickyd fyng / y god was more pleased with the obedience of his commaundement than with any sacrifice of bestis. But Dauid saith / and seynt Paul / and seynt Gregory accordingly to gither / that not onely they y doo euyll is worthy of derbe ad dampnacion: but also all they that consente to euyll doers. And syr y law of holy chirche teachith in the decrees / that no seruant to his lorde / nor childe to the father or mother / nor wyfe to hyr husband / nor monke to his abot ought to obey except in lefuff thingis & lawfuff.

And the Archebissshop said to me. All thes affegingis that thou bringest forth ar not els but proude presumptuousnes. For hereby thou enforcist the to proue / that thou and seche oher ar so iuste / that ye owe not to obeye to prelatys. And thus agens the learning of seynt Paul y teachith you not to preache but if ye wer sent / of your owne authorite ye wiff go forth and preache and doo what ye list.

And I said. Syr / presentith not euery pries the office of the aposiles / or the office of the

disciples of Christe: And the Archebissshop said  
ye. ¶ And I said. Syr as the tenth chaptre of  
Mathew and the laste chaptre of Marke wit-  
nesseth/Christe sent his apostles for to preache.  
And the tenth chaptre of Luke witnesseth that  
Christe sent his two and seuentie disciples for to  
preache in enery place that Christe was to com-  
me to. And seynt Gregory in the comon lawe  
saith/that euery man that goth to priesthode ta-  
kith vpon hym the office of preaching: for as he  
saith/that priestie steirith god to great wrathe of  
whos mouthe is not herde y voice of preaching  
And as other more gloses vpon Ezechiel wit-  
nesse/that y priestie that preacheth not besily to the  
people shall be partetaker of their dampnacion  
that perissheth for his defaute: and though y  
people besaynd by other speciall grace of god  
thā by y priestis preaching/yet the priestis/in y  
they ar ordenyd to preache a preache not/as be-  
fore god they ar māleas for as ferre as in thē  
is/so the priestes as preache not besily and trewly  
fleeth all y people gostely in that they withhold  
from thē the worde of god that is lyfe and suste-  
naūce of mēis soules. And seynt Isidore saith  
Priestis shall be dāpnid for wickidnesse of the  
people/if they teache not thē y ar ignorāt: or bla-  
me not thē y ar synners. For all y worke or besi-  
nesse of priestis stādith in preaching a teaching  
that they edifye all men as well by connyng of  
feithe/as by discipline of workes/that is ver-  
tuous teaching. And as the gespest witnessith:



Christe said in his teaching. I am borne ad come into this worlde to beare witnessse to y<sup>e</sup> trowthe and he that is of the trowthe heareth my voice.

**T**han syr syns by the worde of Christe speciall<sup>y</sup>/that is his voice/priestis are commaundid to preache: what so ever prieste that it be that hath not goode will ad full purpose to doo thus / and ableth not hymself after his conning and power to doo his office by the example of Christe and of his apostles/what so ever other thing that he dothe displeasith god. For lo seynt Gregory saith/that thing leste / that a mā is boūde chesely to doo/what so ever other thing that a man dothe/it is vnthankefull to y<sup>e</sup> holly goste: and therefore saith the Lincoln . That priester that preachith not y<sup>e</sup> worde of god though he be siene to haue none other defaute / he is Antichriste and Sathanas / a night these/and a day these / a sleaer of soules and an angell of light to ordind into derkenesse Wherfore syr/thes authorites and other well considerid / I deme my self dāpnable/if I othe for pleasure or displeasure of any creature applye me not diligētly to preache the worde of god. And in the same dampnaciō I deme all those priestis which of goode purpose and will enforse them not besily to doo thus/and also all them that haue purpose or will to lett any prieste of this besynesse.

And the Archebissshop said to those thre clerkes y<sup>e</sup> stode before hym. Lo syr/ this is y<sup>e</sup> manner and besynesse of this losell ad soche other to

pyke out soche sharpe sentencis of holy scriptur  
re and of doctoris to mainteine their secte and  
lore ageinste y<sup>e</sup> ordinaunce of holy churche. And  
therefore losse it is that thou couetist to haue  
ageyn the psalter that I made to betakyn from  
y<sup>e</sup> at Cāturbery / to recorde sharpe versys ageiste  
vs. But thou shalt neuer haue that psalter / nor  
none other boke / tyll that I know that thy harte  
and thy mouthe accorde fully to be gouernid by  
holy churche.

And I said. Syr: all my wylle and power is  
and euer shall be (I truste to god) to be gouern  
nyd by holy churche

And the Archebissshop askeid me / what was  
holy churche.

And I said / syr: I tolde you before / what  
was holy churche: but syns ye aske me this des  
maunde: I call Christie and his seyntis holy  
churche.

And the Archebissshop said vnto me. I wrote  
well that Christie and his seyntis ar holy churche  
in heuene / but what is holy churche in erthe?

And I said. Syr: though holy churche be  
euery one i charite / yet it hath two parties. The  
firste and principall parte hath ouer comen pers  
fitely all the wretchednesse of this lyfe / and reis  
gneth ioyfully in heuene with Christie. And the  
tother parte is here yet in erthe / besily and cons  
tinuallly fighting day and night ageinst temp  
tacions of the fende / forsakyn and hatyn the  
prosperite of this worlde / despising and with



standing their fleshely lustis/ which onely ar  
pilgrimes of Christe/ wandering toward heu  
ne by stedfast feithe/ and groundid hope/ and by  
perfitte charite. for thes heuently pilgrimes may  
not/ no: will not be lettid of their goode purpos  
by the reason of eny doctours discording fro ho  
ly scripture/ no: by the fluddis of any tribulaciō  
temporall/ no: by the winde of any pride of bos  
ste or of manasing of any creature / for they ar  
all faste grounded vpon the suer stone Christe/  
hearing his worde and louing it/ exercising the  
feithfully and continuaffy in all their wittes to  
doo there after.

And the Archebissshop said to his clerkis.  
Se ye not how his harte is endured/ & how he  
is trancled with y demitt/ occupieng hym thus  
besely to allege soche sentencis to mainteyne  
hys errours and heresies? Certeyn thus he  
wold occupie vs here all daye / if we wold sus  
fer hym.

One of the clerkis answered. Syr/ he said  
right now that this Certificacion that came to  
you fro shrewisbery is vntrewly forged ageinst  
hym. Therfore Syr/ appose you hym now here  
in all the poitis which ar certified ageinst hym  
and so we shall heare of his owne mounthe his  
answers/ and witnesse them.

And the Archebissshop tooke the certificaciō  
in his honde/ and looked thereon a while/ & than  
he said to me.

So here it is certified ageinst the by worthy

men and feithfull of Shrewisbery y<sup>e</sup> thou preachedst there openly in seynt Chaddis chirche/ that the Sacramēt of the altare was materiall brede after the consecracion. What saist thou? Was this trewly preached?

And I said/ Sir I tell you trewly that I touchid nothing there/ of the Sacrament of y<sup>e</sup> altare/ but in this wyse/ as I will with goddis grace tell you here. As I stode ther in y<sup>e</sup> pulpit/ besyng me to teache y<sup>e</sup> commaundement of god/ ther knytted a sacring beff/ and therfore mekitt people too/ and awaye hastely/ & with great noyse ran fro towards me. And I seying this said to them thus. Goode men ye wer better to stand here still & to heare goddis worde. For certis y<sup>e</sup> vertue & the mede of the moste holy Sacrament of y<sup>e</sup> altare standith mekitt more in y<sup>e</sup> beleue thereof/ y<sup>e</sup> ye ought to hane in your soule/ than it dothe in y<sup>e</sup> outward sight thereof. And therfor ye were better to stande still quietly to heare goddis worde/ because y<sup>e</sup> thorow y<sup>e</sup> hearing the rof men come to very trewe belefe. And other wyse sy<sup>r</sup> I am certein I spake not there/ of the woorthy Sacrament of the altare.

And the Archebissshop said to me. I beleue the nor what so euer thou saist/ syns so worshipfull men haue witnessed thus ageinst the. But syns thou denyest that thou saidist thus there/ what saist thou now? Restyth there/ after the consecracion in the ofte materiall brede or no?



And I said/Sir/I knowe in no place in ho-  
ly scripture/where this terme/materiall brede/  
is written:and therefore Sir when I speake of  
this matter / I vse not to speake of materiall  
brede.

Than the Archebissshop said to me. How tea-  
cheest thou men to beleue in this sacrament?

And I said/Sir as I beleue myself so I tea-  
che other men.

He said/tell out plainly thy beleue hereof.

And I said with my protestaciō. Sir I be-  
leue that the nyght / before y<sup>e</sup> Christe Iesu wold  
suffer wilfully passion for man kynde on y<sup>e</sup> mor-  
ne after/ he toke breade in his holy and moste  
worshipfull handis lifting vp his eyes/ and gys-  
uyng thankis to god his father / blessed this  
breade and brake it/and gaue it to his disciples  
saiyng to them. Take and eate of this all you?  
This is my body: And that this is and ought to  
be all mennis belefe Mathew/Marke/Luke/  
and Paul witnessith. Other beleue sir haue I  
none/nor will haue/nor teache / for I beleue y<sup>e</sup>  
this sufficeth in this matter. For in this beleue  
with goddis grace I purpose to lyue and dye/  
knowleging as I beleue and teache other men to  
beleue/that the worshipfull sacramēt of the al-  
tare/ys the sacramente of Christis flesche and his  
bloode in fourme of breade and of wine.

And the Archebissshop said to me. It is for  
that this Sacrament is very Christis body  
in fourme of breade. But thou and thy secte re-

Whist it to be substance of brede. Thynke you this  
true teachinge?

And I said. Noether I nor any other of the  
secte that ye dampne/teache any other wyse thā  
I haue tolde you/nor beleue other wise /to my  
knowynge. Neuerthelesse syr I aske of you for  
charyte/that ye will tell me here pleynty/how ye  
shall vnderstande this text of saynt Paule/wher  
he sayth thus. This thinge seale you in youre  
selfe that is in Christe iesu/while he was in the  
fourme of god. Sir/calleth not Paule here the  
fourme of god/the substance or fynde of god?  
Also Sir:sayth not the churche in the houres of  
the most blessed virgine accordably hereto/wher  
it is written thus. Thou anctour of healthe  
remembre /that sometyme thou toke of the vns  
defyled vyrgyne the fourme off oure bodye.  
Tell me for charyte therfore/whether the four  
me of our bodye be called here the fynde of oure  
body or no?

And the Archebischop said to me. Woldest  
thou make me to declare this texte after thy pur  
pose/syns the churche hath nowe determyned/y  
there abideth no substance of breade after the  
consecracion in the sacrament of the altare?  
Beleuest thou not on this ordinaunce off the  
churche?

And I said. Syr what soeuer prelates haue  
ordened in the churche:our beleue standeth ener  
hooft. I haue not herde that the ordinaun  
ce off men vnder beleue / shulde be putt in to



belene. And the Archebifshop faide to me. Yf thou haft not learned this before/learne now to knowe y thou art out of beleue: if in this matter and other thou beleueft not as holy chirche beleueth. What faye doctours treatinge of this sacrament?

And I faid. Sy: feynt Paule y was a grea-  
te doctour of holy chirche fpeakynge to the peo-  
ple and teaching them the right belene of this  
moſte holy ſacrament calleth it breade that we  
breafe. And alſo in the Canon of the maſſe after  
the conſecracion/this moſt worthy ſacramēt is  
called holy breade. And euery prieſte in this lā-  
de after that he hath receyued this ſacrament  
ſaythe in thys wyſe. That thyng that we ha-  
ue taken with oure mouth/we praye god that  
we maye take it with a pure and clene mynde.  
That is as I vnderſtende/we praye god / that  
we maye receyue thow we very beleue this holy  
ſacrament worthely. And ſy: feynt Auguſtine  
ſaith. That thing that is ſene is breade: but that  
mennys feithe aſketh to be informed of/ is verye  
chriſtes body. And alſo Fulgence an ententyſe  
doctour ſaith. As it were an errour to ſaye that  
Chriſte was but a ſubſtaunce / that is very mā  
& not very god/or to ſay that Chriſte was very  
god & not very man/ſo is it (this doctour ſayth)  
an errour to ſay / that the ſacrament of the altar  
is but a ſubſtaunce. And alſo ſy: accordingly he  
reto in y ſecrete of y midde maſſe on Chriſte ma-  
ſſe day it is writē thus. Idem refulſit deus/ſic

terrena substācia nobis cōferat qđ diuinum est:  
which sentence syr with ȳ secrete of ȳ forth ferye  
quatuor temporū septemb: is. I pray you syr de  
clare here openly in english.

And the Archebishop said to me. I perceiue  
well ynough wher about thou art/ & how ȳ des  
uelf blyndeth the/ ȳ thou may not vnderstond ȳ  
o: dinaunce of holly churche/ no: consent thereto.  
But I commaunde the now answer me shors  
ly. Beleuest thou that after ȳ cōsecratiō of this  
fo: said sacrament there abideth substantiū off  
breade or not?

And I said. Sir as I vnderstond it is all or  
ne to graūte or to beleue/ ȳ there dwelleth sub  
stantiū of breade/ & to graūte & to beleue/ ȳ this  
most worthy sacramēt of ch:istes owne body is  
one accidēt without subiecte. But syr: for as me  
felt as your asking passeth myne vnderstondig  
I dare nother denye it nor graūte it / for it is sto  
le mater/ aboute which I besyed me neuer for to  
know it: & therfore I cōmit this terme/ accidēs  
sine subiecto/ to those clerkes which delytethē so  
in curiouse & suttill sophistrie/ because they deter  
mine oft so difficulte & straūge maters/ & wade  
& wāder so in thē/ frō argumēt to argumēt with  
pro & cōtra/ till ȳ they wote not where they are  
nor vnderstonde not thē selfe. But ȳ shame that  
thes proude sophistrers haue to yelde them  
to men and before men maketh them ofte  
foolis/ and to be concluded shamefully before  
god.



belene. And the Archebifhop faide to me. Yf thou haft not learned this before/learne now to knowe y thou art out of beleue: if in this matter and other thou beleueft not as holy chirche beleueth. What faye doctours treatinge of this facrament?

And I faid. Syr feynt Paule y was a grea te doctour of holy chirche fpeakynge to the peo ple and teaching them the right belene of this moſte holy facrament calleth it breade that we breake. And alſo in the Canon of the maſſe after the conſecracion/this moſt worthy ſaerament is called holy breade. And euery priſte in this laſ de after that he haue receyued this facrament ſaythe in thys wyſe. That thyng that we haue taken with oure mouth/we praye god that we maye take it with a pure and clene mynde. That is as I vnderſtende/we praye god / that we maye receyue thowre very beleue this holy facrament worthely. And ſyr ſeynt Auguſtine ſaith. That thing that is ſene is breade: but that mennys feithe aſketh to be informed of/ is verye chriſtes body. And alſo Fulgence an ententyſe doctour ſaith. As it were an error to ſayethat Chriſte was but a ſubſtaunce / that is very mā & not very god/or to ſay that Chriſte was very god & not very man/ſo is it (this doctour ſayth) an error to ſay/that the ſacrament of the altar is but a ſubſtaunce. And alſo ſyr accordingly he reto in y ſecrete of y midde maſſe on Chriſte maſſe day it is writen thus. Idem refulſit deus/sic

terrena substācia nobis cōferat qđ diuinum est:  
which sentence syr with ȳ secrete of ȳ forth ferye  
quatuor temporū septembris. I pray you syr de  
clare here openly in english.

And the Archebishop said to me. I perceiue  
well ynough wher about thou art/ & how ȳ des  
nest blyndeth the/ ȳ thou may not vnderstond ȳ  
ordinaunce of holy churche/ nor consent thereto.  
But I commaunde the now answer me shor  
ly. Beleuest thou that after ȳ cōsecraciō of this  
for said sacrament there abideth substaunce off  
breađe or not?

And I said. Sir as I vnderstond it is all or  
ne to graūte or to beleue/ ȳ there dwelleth sub  
staunce of breađe/ & to graūte & to beleue/ ȳ this  
most worthy sacramēt of ch:istes owne body is  
one accidēt without subiecte. But syr for as me  
fell as your asking passeth myne vnderstondig  
I dare nother denye it nor graūte it / for it is sto  
le mater/ abente which I besyed me neuer for to  
know it: & therfore I cōmit this terme/ accidēs  
sine subiecto/ to those clerkes which delyte thē so  
in curiouse & suttill sophistrie/ because they deter  
mine oft so difficulte & straūge maters/ & wade  
& wāder so in thē/ frō argumēt to argumēt with  
pro & cōtra/ till ȳ they wote not where they are  
nor vnderstonde not thē selfe. But ȳ shame that  
thes proude sophistrers haue to yelde them  
to men and before men maketh them ofte  
foolis/ and to be concluded shamefully before  
god.



And the Archebisschop said to me. I purpose not to oblige the to the sutttyll argumētes of clerkes/syns thou art vnable theto: But I purpose to make the obeye to the determinacion of holy churche.

And I said. Syr: by open evidence and great witnesse a thousand yere after the incarnaciō of Christe y determinaciō which I haue here before you rehersed was accepte of holy church as sufficient to the saluacion of all them that wolde beleue it faithfulty and worke thereafter charitably. But syr the determinacion of this mater which was brought in syns the fende was losed by frier Thomas agayn/specially calling y moste worshipfull sacrament of Christes owne body an accident without subiecte/which terme syns I knowe not that goddes lawe approueth it in this mater: I dare not graunte/but vterly I denye to make this friers sentence or ony for the other my beleue/do with me god/ what thou wilt.

And the Archebisschop said to me. Well/well/thou shalt saye other wyse or that I leaue the.

**B**ut what saist thou to this secōde poynte y is recorded ageinst y by worthy mē of Shrewisbury saing y thou preachedst opely there y ymages oughte not to be worshipped in ony wise.

And I said. Syr: I preached neuer thus/nor thorow gods grace I will not any tyme consens

to thinke nor to saye thus nother pryuely nor as  
pertly. For lo/the lordē witnesseth by Moses/y  
the thinges which he made were righte good/ &  
so than they were/and yet they are/and shall be  
good/and worshipfull in their kynde. And ther  
fore to the ende that god made them to/they are  
all praisable and worshipfull and specially mā  
that was made after the ymage and likenesse of  
god is full worshipfull in his kynde/ye this ho  
ly ymage that is man/god worshippeth. And  
herfore euery man shulde worshippe other in  
kynde/and also for heuenly vertues that mē vse  
charitably. Also I saye/woode/tynne/gold/syl  
uer/or any other mater that ymages are made  
of/all these creatures are worshipfull in their  
kynde and to the ende that god made them for.  
But the fernyng/castyng/nor peynting of any  
ymagery made with mannes hande/all be hit  
that this doing be accepte of man of hiest state  
and dignite/and ordered of them to be a falens  
dar to lende men that nother can nor wiff be les  
arned to know god in his worde/nother by his  
creatures nor by his wonderfull and diuerse  
workes: yet this ymagery ought not to be wor  
shipped in the forme nor in the likenesse of man  
nes crafte/neuerthelesse that euery mater y pei  
nters peynte with/syns it is gods creature ought  
to be worshipped in the kynde/ & to y ende y god  
made & ordered it to serue man.

Than y archebishop said to me. I graunt well  
that no body oweth to do worshippe to any soche



ymages for the selfe. But a crucifyre ought to be worshipped for the passion of christe that is peynted therein and so brought ther thorow to mannes mynde: and thus the ymages of the blessed trinite/ād of virgyn Mary christes mother/and other ymages of sayntes ought to be worshipped. For lo earthely kynges and lordes which vse to send their letters ensealid with the ir armes or with their preuy signet to men that are with them/are worshipped of thes mē. For whā thes mē receiue their lordes letters in which they se & knowe the willes & biddiges of the ir lordes/in worshippe of their lordes they do of their cappes to thes letters. Why not than/sins in ymages made with mannes hande/we may rede and knowe many diuerse thinges of god/and of his sayntes/shall we not worshipping thes ir ymages?

And I sayde with my forsaide protestacyon. I saye that these worldly vsages of temporall lordes that ye speake now of/maye be done in case without synne / but this is no similitude to worship ymages made by mānes hande / syns y Moses/ Dauid/ Salomon/ Baruch/ & other seyntes in the bible forbidde so pleyndly y worshipping of all soche ymages.

Than the archbishop said to me. Leu de losell In the olde lawe before that christe toke mākind was no lifenesse of any persone of y trinite nother shewed to mā nor knowē of mā: but now syns christe became mā/it is lefult to haue yma

ges to shewe his māhode. Ye though many mē  
which are right greate clerkes & other also hel  
de it an errour to peynte y<sup>e</sup> trinite. I say it is well  
done to make and to peynte the trinite in ymas  
ges. For it is great mouing of deuocion to mē  
to haue and to behold the trinite and other yma  
ges of seyntes caruyd/caste/and peynted. For  
beyonde the see are the beste peynters that euer  
I saw. And syrs/I tell you this is their maner  
and it is a goode maner. Whan that an ymage  
maker shall ferue/caste in mould/oz peynte oz  
ny ymages/he shall go to a prieste and shryue  
him as clene/as if he sholdethan dye and take  
penaunce/and make some certeyn vowe of fast  
yng oz of praiyng/oz of pilgrimages doinge/  
praiyng the prieste/specially to praye for hym/  
that he may haue grace to make a faire and a de  
uoute ymage.

And I said. Syr I doute not/yf thes peyn  
ters that ye speake of oz any other peynters vn  
derstode truely the texte of Moses/of David/  
of the wise man/of Baruch and of other seyn  
tes and doctoures/these peynters sholde be mo  
ued to shryue them to god wyth full inwarde so  
rrowe of harte/takynge vpon them to doo right  
sharpe penaunce for the synfull and vayne cra  
fte of peyntinge/farnynge oz castinge that they  
had vsed/promising god feithfully neuer to do  
so after/knowleging openly before aff mē theyr  
reprouable earnig. And also syr thes priestes y<sup>e</sup>  
shryue(as ye do say) painters & inioyne the to do



penaunce / and praye for their spede promys  
syng to them helpe of their prayers for to be cu  
rious in their synfull craftes: synne herein mo  
re greuously thā the peynters. For thes priestes  
do comfote and gyue them counsell to do that  
thyng/which of great peyne/yc/vnder the peys  
ne of goddes curse they sholde vterly forbydde  
them. For certis syr/yf the wonderfull werking  
of god and the holy luyngge and reachyng off  
Christe and off his apostles and prophetes  
were made knowen to the people by holy luyngs  
ge and true and besy reachyng of priestes: thes  
sethynges (syr) were sufficient bokes and falen  
dares to knowe god by and his sayntes with  
out any ymages made with mannes hond: but  
certis the vicious luyngge of priestes and their  
conetousnesse are chese cause of this errour and  
all other viciousnesse that reigneth among the  
people.

Than the archbishop said vnto me. I holde  
y a vicious priest & a curste / & all thē that are of  
thy secte: for all priestes of holy chyrche / and all  
ymages that moue men to deuocion / thou & for  
che other go about to destroye. Loosett / ware it a  
feire thing to come into a chyrche / and see therein  
none ymage?

And I said. Syr: they that cometo the chyr  
che for to pray deuoutly to the lorde god may in  
their inwarde wittes be y more feruent / that all  
their outwarde wittes be closed fro all outwar  
de seynge and hearing and fro all distroblaunce

and lettyngis. And syns Christe blessed them y  
saw hym not bodely/and haue beleuyd feithfuls  
ly in hym: It sufficeth than to all men thorow  
hearing and knowing of goddis worde / and to  
doo there after for to beleue in god / though they  
see neuer ymagis made with mannis hande  
after any Person of the trinite or of any other  
seynte.

And the Archebissshop said to me with a fer  
uēt spyrte. I say to y Lofell / that it is right well  
done to make and to haue an ymage of the trinite  
Ye what saist thou? Ye it not a stiering thing  
to beholde soche an ymage?

And I said. Sir ye said right now that in y  
olde lawe or Christe toke mankynde / no liknesse  
of any person of the trinite was shewid to men:  
wherfore sir ye said it was not thā lefull to ha  
ue ymagis / but now ye say syns Christe is beco  
men man / it is lefull to make & to haue an ymas  
ge of the trinite and also of other seyntis. But  
sy: this thing wolde I learne of you. Syns the  
father of heuen / ye and euery person of the tri  
nite was without beginnyng god almighty / &  
many holy prophetis that wer dedely men wer  
martiresed violently in the olde lawe / and also  
many men and women than died holy confes  
sours Why was it not than as lefull and neces  
sarie as now to haue made an ymage of the fa  
ther of heuen / and to haue made & hadde other  
ymagis of martires / prophetis / and holy cōfess  
sours to haue ben falendaris to aduise men ad



monethem to deuocion/as ye say that ymagis  
now doo?

And y Archebissshop said. The sinagoge of  
Jues hadde not authorite to approue thes thin  
gis as y churche of Chryste hathenow.

And I said. Sir seint Gregory/was a gres  
at man in y new lawe/and of great dignite/ ad  
as y comon lawe witnesseth/he comendid gres  
atly a bissshop/in y he forbaddde vtterly y ymas  
gis made with mannis hande sholde be wors  
shipid.

And y Archebissshop said. Vngracious losell  
thou fauerist nemo:e trewthe than an hounde/  
Syns at y roode at y northe dore at London/  
at our lady at walsingam ad many other diuers  
se placis in England ar many great and prei  
sable miracles done: shulde not the ymagis of  
soche holy seyntis and placis at y reuerence of  
god and our lady & other seyntis be more wors  
shipid than other placis and ymagis wher no  
soche miracles ar done?

And I said. Sir ther is no soche vertue in  
ony ymagery that ony ymagis sholde herefore  
be worshippid/wherfore I am certein y ther  
is no miracle done of god in ony place in erthe  
because that ony ymagis made with mannis hā  
desholde be worshippid. And herefore sir as I  
preached openly at shrewisbery and other plas  
cis I say now here before you/y no body sholz  
detruste that ther war ony vertue in ymagery  
made with mannis hande/and herefor no boz

dy sholde vowe to them / nor seake them nor knele  
to them nor bow to them / nor pray to them / nor  
offer any thing to them / nor kysse them / nor en-  
sencethem. For lo the most worthy of soche yma-  
gis / the brazen serpente by Moyses made / at  
goddis bidding. The goode kyng Ezechie des-  
stroied worthily and thankesfully : for by cause it  
was encensed . Therefore sir yf men take goode  
hede to the writing and to the lerning of seynt  
Augustine of seynt Gregory and of seynt John  
Crisostome / and of other seyntis & doctours how  
they speake & write of miracles that shall be doo-  
ne now in y laste ende of y worlde : it is to dreas-  
de y for y vr feithfulnesse of men & women the  
fende hath great power for to worke many of y  
miracles y now ardone in soche placis. For bo-  
the men & women delite now more for to heare  
& knowe miracles / than they doo to knowe gods  
dis worde or to heare it effectuously. Wherefore  
to y great cōfusiō of all thē y thus doo : Chris-  
te saith. The gñaciō of adulterers requirith to  
fynes / miracles & wōders. Never thelesse as di-  
uerse seyntis say / now whan y feith of god is  
publissbed in churstedome / y worde of god suffis-  
ceth to mānis saluaciō without soche miracles :  
& thus also y worde of god sufficeth to all feiths  
full mē & womē without eny soche ymagis / but  
goode sir / syns y father of heuē y is god in his  
godhed is y moste vnknowē thig y may be and y  
moste wōderfull spyrut / hauyng in it no shape  
or lifenesse of ony mēbres of oni dedely creature



In what likenesse or what ymage may god the  
father be shewid or peintyd?

And the Archebissshop said. As holy chir-  
che hath sufferid and yet sufferith the ymagis  
of all the trinite and other ymagis to be peyns  
tid and shewid/sufficeth to them that ar mems-  
bres of holy chirche But syns thou art a rotten  
membre cutt away frome holy chirche thou fas-  
uerest not the ordinaunce therof. But syns the  
daye passith/leane we this mater.

**H**id than he said to me. What saist thou  
to y thirde poynte y is certified against  
the preching openly in shrewisbery that  
pilgrimage is not lefuff. And ouer this thou sai-  
dist/thathose men and women that go on pil-  
grimagis to Caturbery/to Benerley/to Farling-  
ton/to walsingame and to ony soche other pla-  
cis ar acursed and made foolishch spending their  
goodes in waste.

And I said/sir by this certificacion I am  
accused to you that I sholde teache/thath no pil-  
grimage is lefuff. But I said neuer thus. For  
I knowe thatther be trew pilgrimagis and les-  
suff and suff plesant to god / and therefore sir  
how so euer myne enemies haue certified you of  
me I tolde at shrewisbery of two maner of pil-  
grimagis.

And the Archebissshop said to me / whome  
callest thou trewe pilgrimes?

And I said. Sir with my protestacio I call  
them trew pilgremis trauelyng toward y blis

se of heuen which in the state/degree/ or ordre  
god call'eth them/doo besy them feithfully for  
to occupie all their wittes bodely and gostely to  
knowe trewly and to keape feithfully the biddin  
ges of god/hatynge and fleyng all the seuen de  
dely synnes and euery braunche of the reuylng  
them verteuously(as it is said before) with all  
their wittes/doyng discretely wilfully & gladly  
all the werkis of mercy bodely and gostely after  
their connyng and power/ablyng them to the  
gyftes of the holy goste disposing them to recey  
ue in their soules and to holde therein the right  
blessinges of Christe beseyng them to knowe and  
to kepe the seuen principall vertues/ and so that  
they shall obteyne herethorow grace for to vse  
thankfully to god all the condicions of charite/  
and than they shall be moouyd with the good  
spirite of god for to examyne ofte and diligents  
ly their conscience/that nother wilfully nor wit  
tingly they erre in any article of beleue/ hauyng  
continually(as fraile wyl suffer)all their bes  
sinesses to drede and to flete the offence of god/ and  
to looue ouer all thing and to seke euer to doo his  
pleasaunt wyl. Of these pilgremis I said/what  
so euer goode thoughte that they ony tyme thin  
ke: what verteuous worde that they speake: and  
what frutesfull worke that they worke: euery so  
chethoughte/worde and werke is a steppe nou  
bered of god toward hym into heuene. Thes  
for said pilgremis of god/delyte sore whan they  
heare of seyntis or of verteuous men & women



how they forsoke wilfully the prosperite of this  
lyfe/how they withstode the suggestion of the  
fende/how they restrained their fleschly lustes/  
how discrete they wer in their penance doynge  
how pacient they wer in all their aduersites/  
how prudent they wer in counseling of men &  
women moouyng them to hate all synne and to  
flye them/and to shame euer greatly there of and  
to loue all vertues and to drawe to them/ymas  
ginyng how Christe and his folowers by exā  
ple of hym/suffered scornis and sclaunderis / &  
how paciently they abode and toke the wrong  
full manasyng of tyrauntis/ how homely they  
wer and seruisable to poore mento relieue and  
comforte them bodely and gostely after their po  
wer and connyng/and how deuote they wer in  
praiers/how feruent they wer in heuenly desy  
res/and how they absented them fro spectacles  
of veyne seyingis and hearingis/ and how sta  
ble they wer to lett and to destroye all vices / and  
how laborious and ioysfull they wer to sowe & to  
plante vertues. Thes heuenly condicions and so  
che other haue y pilgremis / or endeuor thē for  
to haue: whose pilgrymagie god acceptith And  
ageyne I saide/as their werkis shew/the moste  
parte of men and women that gonow on pilgri  
magis haue not thes forsaide condicions / nor  
loueth to besy them feithfully for to haue for as  
I well know syns I haue full ofte assaide/era  
myne who so euer will twentie of thes pilgres  
mis:and he shall not fynde thre men or women

þ knowe surely a cōmaundmēt of god/nōr can  
say their Pater noster and Ave maria/nor thes  
ir Credo redely in ony maner of langage. And  
as I haue learnid and also know somwhat by  
experience of thes same pilgrimis redyng the  
cause/why that many men and women go bi  
ther and thither now on pilgrimagis/it is mor  
re for the helthe of their bodies than of their sou  
les/more for to haue richesse and prosperie of  
this worlde/ than for to be ēryched with vertus  
es in their soules/more to haue here worldely  
and fleschely frendship/ than for to haue frends  
ship of god & of his seyntis in heuen. For what  
so euer thing man or woman dothe / the frends  
ship of god nor of any other seynt cā not be had  
de without feaping of goddis commaundemē  
tis. Forther with my protestacion I say now as  
I said in shrewisbery/ though they that haue  
fleschely wiffestravell for their bodies and spē  
de mekitt money to seake and to visite the bonys  
or ymagis (as they say they do) of this seynt or  
of y: soche pilgrimage goyng is nother praisa  
ble nor thākesfull to god nor to ony seinte of god:  
syns in effect all soche pelgrimes despise god &  
all his cōmaundmētis & seyntis. For y cōmaūds  
mētis of god they will nother knowe nor feape/  
nor cōforme thē to lyue vertuously by example of  
Christe & of his seyntis. Wherfor syr I haue pre  
chid & taucht opely/ & so I purpose all my lyfeti  
me to do with gods helpe / saig y soche fōde peo  
ple wast blamefully gods goods in their veyne



pilgrimage/ spending their goodes vpon vicious hostelars/ which are ofte vnclene women of their bodices: and at the leste those goodes with the which they shoulde doo werkes of mercie after goddis bidding to poore nedy men and women.

¶ These poore mennes goodes and their lynclothe these runners about offer to riche priestis/ which haue metiff more lynclothe than they neede/ And thus those goodes they waste wilfully and spendethē vniustely against goddis bidding vpon straungers/ with which they shoulde helpe and releue after goddis will their poore nedy neighbours at home: ye & ouer this folly/ ofte tymes diuerse men and women of these runners thus madly hither & thither in to pilgrimage borrowe hereto other mennes goodes/ ye and sometyme they steale mennes goodes hereto/ and they pay them neuer agein. Also sir I know well that whan diuerse men & women will go thus after their own willes & fynding out one pilgrimage/ they will orden with them before to haue with them bothe men & women that can well synge wanton songes / and some other pilgrims will haue with them bagge pipes/ so that euery towne that they come throue what with the noyse of their syngyng/ & with the sounde of their piping/ and with the Jansgelyng of their Canterbury bellis/ and with the barkyng out of doggis after them that they make more noyse than if y<sup>e</sup> kyng came there awaye with all his clarions and many other menstrels

les. And if thes men and women be a monethe  
out in thei pilgrimage/many of the shall be an  
halfe yeare after greate iangelers / tale tellers  
and lyers.

And the Archebischop said to me. Leude losell  
thou seest not ferre ynough in this mater/for thou  
cōsiderest not the great traueff of pilgrymys  
therfore thou blamest that thing that is praisa-  
ble. I say to y that it is right well done/that pil-  
grymys haue with them bothe syngers & also  
pipers that whan one of them that goeth barfo-  
te striketh his too vpon a stone & hurteth hym  
sore/and maketh hym to blede: it is well done  
that he or his felow begyn than a songe / or els  
take out of his besome a baggepype for to dry-  
ue away with soche myrthe the hurte of his fes-  
low. For with soche salace the traueff and weari-  
nesse off pylgrymes is lightly and merily brou-  
ghte forth.

And I said. Sir seynt Paule teacheth men to  
wepe with them y wepe.

And the archebischoppe saide. What ianglist  
thou ageinst mēis deuociō/ what soener thou  
or soch other say/ I say that the pilgrimage that  
now is vsed is to the that doo it/a pray sable & a  
good meaner to come the rather to grace. But I  
holde the vnable to know this grace: for thou en-  
forsest the to lett y deuocion of the people: syns  
by authorite of holy scripture men maye lefully  
haue & vse soche solace as thou reponest. For  
Dauid in his laste psalme teacheth me to haue

diuerse instrumentes of musike for to prayse ther  
with god.

And I saide. Sir by the sentence of diuerse  
doctours expounding the psalmes of Dauid / y  
musike and menstreley that Dauid & other seyn  
tes of the oldelawe spake of / owe now nother to  
be taken nor vsed by the letter / but thes instrumē  
tes with theire musike ought to be interpreted  
gostely: for all those figures are called vertues  
and grace / with which vertues men shold pleas  
se god and prayse his name. For saynt Pau  
le saith. All soche thynges befett to them in figu  
re. Therefore sir I vnderstande that the letter of  
this psalme of Dauid / and of soche other psal  
mes and sentences dothe flee them that take the  
now letterally. This sentence I vnderstand syz  
Christ approueth him self putting out the mens  
strelles / or that he wolde quycken the deade  
damself.

And y archebishop saide to me. Leude losell /  
is it not lefull to vs to haue organes in y chirche  
for to worship therewith all god? And I said

Ye syz by mannys ordynaunce / but by the  
ordinaunce of god a goode sermonne to the peo  
ples vnderstandyng were me fill more plesaunt  
to god.

And the Archebisschoppe sayde / that orga  
nes and goode delectable songe quykened and  
sharpened more mennys wyttes than sholde or  
ny sermonne.

But I said. Sir lusty men and worldly louers



delyte & conete & trauell to haue all theire wittes quickened & sharpened with diuerse sensible solace: but all y feithfull louers & folowers of Chriſte haue all theire delyte to heare goddis worde/ and to vnderſtond it truely/ and to worke therafter faithfully and continually. For no doute to dreade to offende god/ and to loue to pleaſe him in all thing quycheneth and sharpeneth all the wittes of Chriſtes choſen people: and ablethe the ſo to grace/ that they ioye greatly to withdraue their cares/ & all their wittes & membres from all worldly delyte and from all fleſchly ſolace. For ſeynt Jerome (as I thinke) ſaith. No body may ioye with this worlde & reigne with Chriſte.

And the Archebiſhop (as yf he had ben diſpleaſed with myne anſwere) ſaid to his clerkes. What geſſe ye this ydiote will ſpeke ther / where he hath none dreade: ſyns he ſpeaketh thus now we here in my preſence? Well well / by god thou ſhalt be ordered for. And than he ſpake to me all angerly.

**W**hat ſaiſt thou to this for the poynte / y is certified againſt the preaching openly & boldly in Shrewſbery / y prieſtes haue no title to tythes.

And I ſaid. Sir I named ther no worde of tythes in my preaching. But / more than a moneth after that I was arreſted / there in pryſone a man came to me into the pryſone aſkyng me what I ſayde of tythes. And I ſaide to him.

Sir in this towne are many clerkes & priestes  
of which some are called religious me though  
many of them be seculars. Therfore aske ye off  
them this question. And this man saide to me.  
Sir our prelates say/that we ar also obliged to  
paye oure tythes of all thinges that renewe to  
vs/and that they ar acursed /y with drawe any  
parte wittingly fro them of their tythes. And I  
said (syr) to that man/as with my protestacyon  
I say now here before you: that I hadde won-  
der that any prieste dare say/men to be acursed  
without grounde of goddis worde. And y m.  
said. Sir our priestes say that they curse me th-  
us by authorite of goddes lawe. And I sayde.  
Sir I knowe not wher this sentence of cursing  
is authorised now in the bible. And therfor sy:  
I praye you that ye will aske the moste conning  
clerke of this towne/that ye may knowe where  
this sentence cursynge them thatty the not now  
is witen in goddes lawe: for yf it were witen  
there I wolde right gladly be learned where.  
But shortely this man wolde not go from me/  
to aske this question of a nother body/ but requi-  
red me there/as I wolde answeere before god/  
if in this case the cursing of priestes wer lausfull  
and approued of god. And shortely herewith  
came to my mynde the learnyng of seynt Peter/  
teachig priestes speciafly to halow y lord christ  
in their hartes: beinge enermore redye (as ferre  
as in the is) to answeere thorowe faith & hope to  
the y aske of the a reasō. And this lesson Peter

teacheth me to vse with a meke spyrite & with dre  
ade of y<sup>e</sup> lord. Wherfore say I said to this man  
in this wise. In the old lawe which endyd not  
fully till the tyme y<sup>e</sup> churche rose up ageyn fro de  
th to lyfe) god commaunded tythes to be gyue  
to the leuites for the great besynesse & dayly tra  
uell that pertayned to their office. But priestes  
ee/ because their trauell was mekylt more easy  
and light/ than was the office of the leuites: god  
ordeyned that priestes shoulde take for their lifes  
lode to do their office/ y<sup>e</sup> tenth parte of the tythes  
that wer geue to the leuites. But now (I said)  
in the newe lawe nother Christe nor any of his  
apostles toke tythes of the people / nor comaun  
ded the people to pay tythes nother to priestes/  
nor to deacons. But Christe taught the people  
to do almesse/ that is werkes of mercy / to poore  
nedymē of surpluse/ that is superfluous of the  
ir temporall goodes which they hadde more than  
them nedid reasonably to their necessary lyvelo  
de. And thus (I said) not of tythes/ but of pure  
almesse of the people Christe lyued and his apo  
stles/ whan they were so besye in teachynge off  
the worde of god to the people that they myght  
not trauell other wyse for to gett their lyvelode.  
But after Christes ascensyon/ and whan the as  
postles had receyued y<sup>e</sup> holy goste/ they traueled  
with their handes for to get their lyvelode/  
whan that they myght thus doo for besye preas  
chyng. Therefore by example of hymselfe seyns  
Paule teacheth all the priestes of Christe for to



travell with their hande / whan for besye reachyng of the people they myght thus do. And thus all these priestes whose priestehode god accepteth nowre / or will accepte or dyd in the apostles tyme / and after their discease: will do to the worldes ende. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousande yere of oure lordes Jesu Christe / two hundred and a lxxviii yere / one pope the tenth Gregory ordered new / tythes fyrst to be gyven to priestes nowre in the newe lawe.

But seynt Paule in his tyme whose trace or example all priestes of god enforce them to followe / seying the covetousnesse that was amonge the people desyryng to destroye this foule synne thowhe the grace of god / and true verthuous lyvinge and example of hymselfe: wrote and taught all priestes for to followe him as he followed Christe patiently / wyllingly and gladly in hys pouerte. Wherefore Paule saith thus. The lord hath ordered that they y<sup>e</sup> preach the gospel shall lyve of the gospel. But we (saith Paul) hat covet a besy vs to be feithfull folowers of Christ / use not this power. For lo (as Paule witnesseth afterwarde) whan he was full pore and nedy preaching among the people: he was not chargeous vnto them / but with his handes he traveled not onely to get his owne lyvinge / but also y<sup>e</sup> lyving of other pore & nedy creatures. And syns the people was never so covetous / nor so auarous (I gesse) as thei ar now it were good counsell / y<sup>e</sup> all priestes toke good hede to

this heuenly learning of Paul/following him  
here/in wilfull puerite / nothinge charging the  
people for their bodely lyuelode. But because y  
many priestes do contrary Paule in thise forsay  
de doctryne: Paul biddeth the people take hede  
to those priystes that folow him as he had geue  
them example. As/if Paul wolde say thus to y  
people. Accepte ye none other priestes than thei  
that lyue after the fourme that I haue tauchte  
you. For certeyn in what soeuer dignite or ordre  
that any prieste is in /yf he conforme him not to  
folowe Chuste and his apostles in wilfull pos  
uerite/and in other heuenly vertues/and special  
ly in true preachynge of goddes worde: though  
soche a one be named a prieste/ yet he is no mo  
re but a prieste in name/for the worke of a verye  
prieste soch a one wanteth. This sentence appo  
ueth Augustyne/ Gregory/ Chrysostome / & Linc  
con playnly.

And y<sup>e</sup> archbishop said to me. Thinkest thou  
this holsome learninge for to some openly or yet  
priuely among y<sup>e</sup> people? Certeyn this doctryne  
cōtrarieth playnly y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of holy fathers  
which haue ordered graūted & licenced priesies  
to be in diuerse degrees / & to lyue by tythes & of  
fringes of y<sup>e</sup> people & by other duties.

And I said, Sir/if priestes wer now in mes-  
surable mesure & numbze/a lyued veruiously / &  
taucht besyly & truely the worde of god by exam-  
ple of Christ and of his apostles: withouten ty-  
thes/offerynges / and other dewties y<sup>e</sup> priestes

nowe wyllynge & grate / y people wolde gyue the  
frely sufficient lyuelode.

And a clerke said to me. How wilt thou mas  
ke this good that y people will gyue frely to prie  
stes their lyuelode / syns y now by y lawe euery  
prieſte cā ſcarcely cōſtrayne y people to gyue the  
their lyuelode?

And I ſaid. Sir it is now no wonder thouſ  
gh the people grudge to gyue priſtes the lyuelo  
de that they aſke: for meſſe people knowe now  
how that priſtes ſhulde lyue / and how that they  
lyue contrary to Chriſte and to his apoſtles.

And therfore the people is full heny to paye (as  
they do) their temporall goodes to perſones and  
to other vicars and priſtes / whiche ſholde be  
ſenſfull diſpenſatours of the pariſhes goodes  
taking to themſelves none but a ſcarce lynig  
of tythes nor of offrynges by the ordinaunce of  
the comon lawe. For what ſeener priſtes take  
of the people: be it tythe or offering or any other  
deutie or ſeruyce: the priſtes ought not to haue  
thereof none but a bare lyuyng / and to depar  
te the reſidue to the poore men & women ſpecis  
ally of the pariſhe / of whome they take this tem  
porall lynynge. But the moſt dele of priſtes no  
we waſteth their pariſhes goodes and ſpendeth  
the at their owne will after the worlde in their  
vayne luſtes / ſo that in ſewer places poore mē ha  
ue demoly (as they ſholde haue) their owne ſuſte  
naunce / nother of tythes nor of offrynges / nor  
of other large wages & foundations y priſtes



rate of y people in diuerse maners aboute it that  
they nede for nedefull sustenaunce of meate and  
clothinge. But y poore neddy people ar forsaken  
and lefte of priestis to be susteinyd of y paroshes  
nis/as if the priestis toke nothing of y paroshes  
nis/for to helpe y poore people with. And thus  
syr into ouer greate chargis of the paroshenis  
they pay their tēporall goodes twice/wher ones  
myght suffice/if priestis wer trew dispensa-  
tours. Also sir the paroshenis that pay their tē-  
porall goodes (be they tythes or offeringes) to  
priestis that doo not their office among them  
iustely/ar parteners of euery synne of those prie-  
stis: because that they susteyne those priestis fos-  
ly in their synne with their tēporall goodes. Yf  
thes thinges be well considerid what wonder  
is it than sir/if the paroshenis grudge agēst  
thes dispensatours?

Than the Archebisschop said to me. Thou y  
sholdest be iudged and reulyd by holy chirche/  
presumptuously thou demest holy chirche to ha-  
ue erryd in the ordinaunce of tythes and other des-  
tries to be payd to pristis. Yt shall be long or  
thou thryue Losell/that thou despicest thy ges-  
tely mother. How darist thou speake this Los-  
sell among the people? Ar not tythes geuyn to  
priestis for to lyue by?

And I said. Sir seynt Paul saith that tythes  
wer gyuen in the olde lawe to leuytes and to pries-  
tis/that came of the lynage of Leui/ But our  
priest he saith came not of the lynage of Leui/

but of y<sup>e</sup> lynage of Juda: to which Juda no tye  
thes were promised to be genyn. And therefore  
Paul saith/ syns the priesthode is chaūged fro  
the generacion of Levi to the generacion of  
Juda/ it is necessarie y<sup>e</sup> chaūngyng also be ma  
de of y<sup>e</sup> lawe. So y<sup>e</sup> priestis lyue now without  
tyhes and other dewties y<sup>e</sup> they now claime/ fo  
lowing Christe and his apostles in wilfull pos  
uerte/as they haue gyyen them example. For  
syns Christe lyued all y<sup>e</sup> tyme of his preaching  
by pure almose of the people / and by exāple  
of hym his apostles lyued in y<sup>e</sup> same wyse / or els  
by the tranett of their hādys/ as it is said aboue  
Euery prieste whose priesthode Christe approz  
uyth knowith well/ and confessith in worde/ &  
in werke that a disciple owith not to be aboue  
his master / but it sufficeth to a disciple to be  
as his master/ synple/ and pure/ meke and pas  
cient: & by exāple specially of his master Chris  
te/ euery prieste sholde reule hym in all his ly  
uyng/ and so after his connyng & power a pries  
te sholde besy hym to enfourme & to reule who  
me so euer he myght charitably.

And the Archebisshep said to me with a gre  
at spirite Goddis curse haue thou and myne for  
this teaching: for thou woldist hereby make y<sup>e</sup>  
oldelaw more fre ād persure than the new law.  
For thou saist that it is lefuss to leuites and to  
priestis to take tythes in the oldelaw/ and so to  
enioye their priuelegies: but to vs priestis in the  
new lawe thou saist it is not lefuss to take tyhes.

And thus thou geuist lenytes of the olde lawe  
more fredome than to priestis of the new lawe

And I said. Sir Imeruell/that ye vnder-  
stande this playne texte of Paul thus. Ye wrote  
well/that the leuites and priestes in the olde lawe  
that toke tythes wer not so fre nor so perfitte  
as Christe and his apostles that toke no tythes  
And sir there is a doctour (I thinke y<sup>e</sup> it is seynt  
Jerome) that saith thus. The priestis that chal-  
lenge now in the new lawe tythes/say in effec-  
te/that Christe is not become man/nor that he  
hath yet suffered deathe for mannis loue. Where-  
fore this doctour saith this sentence. Syne ty-  
thes wer the hyres and wagis limyted to leui-  
tes and to priestes of the olde lawe for bearing  
about of the tabernacle/and for sleayng and fle-  
ayng of beastes/and for burning of sacrifice/and  
for keping of the temple / and for tromping of  
battell before the oste of Israel/and other diuer-  
se obseruauces that pertainyd to their office:  
those priestis that will chalenge or take tythes:  
denye that Christe is come in fleshe and doo y<sup>e</sup>  
priestis office of the olde lawe for whome tythes  
wer graunted: for ele (as this docteur saith) prie-  
stis take now tythes wrongfully.

And the Archbisshop said to his clerkes.  
Gerde ye euer losell speakyng? Certeyn this  
is the learnyng of them all/y<sup>e</sup> wher so euer they  
come/and they may be suffered/they enforce



them to expugne the fredome of holy churche.

And I said. Sir why call you the takynge of tythes and of soche other dewties that priestes chalenge now wrongfully the fredome of holy churche: Syns nother Churste nor his apostles chalengid nor tooke soche dewties. Herefore thes takyngeis of priestis now ar not callid iustly the fredome of holy churche / but all soche geuynge and takynge ought to be callid and holden the sclaunderous couetousnesse of men of y<sup>e</sup> holy churche.

And the Archebisschop said to me. Why lo<sup>o</sup> self wilt not thou and other that ar confedered with the / seake out of holy scripture and of the sentēce of doctours all sharpe authorites agēst lordis and knyghtis and squyers and ageinst other secular men / as thou doeste ageynst priestes?

And I said. Sir what so euer men or wo<sup>o</sup> me lordis or ladies or any other that ar present in our preaching specially or in our cōmunynge after our connyng we tell out to the their office and their charges: but sir syns Chrysostome saith y<sup>e</sup> priestis ar the stomake of y<sup>e</sup> people / it is nedesfull in preaching and also in communynge / to be moste besy aboute this priesthode / syns by the viciousnes of priestis both lordis and commons ar moste synfully infected and ledde into the worst. And because that y<sup>e</sup> couerousnes of priestis / a pride and the boste y<sup>e</sup> they haue a make of their dignite and power / destroyeth not one

ly the vertues of priesthode in priestis them selfe  
but also ouerthis/it stierith god to take greate re-  
geaunce both vpon lordis and vpon comons  
which suffer thes priestes charitably

And the Archebissshop said to me. Thou iud-  
gest euery prieste proude y<sup>e</sup> wilt not go arayed  
as thou doste. By god I deme hym to be more  
meke that gothe euery day in a scarlet gowne/  
than thou in y<sup>e</sup> threde bare blew gowne. Whers-  
by knewest thou a proude man?

And I said. Sir a proude prieste may be  
knownen when he denyeth to folow Christe/ and  
his aposiles in wilfull pouerte and other ver-  
tues and couerith worldly worship/and taketh  
it gladly/and gatherith to gither with pletyng  
manasyng/ or with flattering or with simony  
ony worldly goodis: and mesie if a prieste besy  
hym not chesely in hymself and after in all other  
men and women after his connyng and power  
to withstond synne.

And the Archebissshop said to me. Though  
thou knewest a prieste to haue all thes vices/ and  
though thou sawest a prieste louely lye now by  
a woman knowing hir fleschly: woldest thou her  
fore deme this prieste dampnable? I say to the  
that in the tournyng about of thy hande soche a  
synner may be verily repented.

And I said. Sir I will not dāpne any mā  
for any synne that I know done or may be done/  
so that the synner leuyth his synne. But by au-  
thorite of holy scripture / he that synneth thus

openly as ye shewe here/is dāpnable for doying  
of soche a synne/ & moſte ſpeciallly a prieſte that  
ſholde be example to all other for to hate and flie  
ſynne: and in how ſhort tyme y euer ye ſay that  
ſoche a ſynner may be repented: he oweth not of  
hym that knoweth his ſynnyng to be iudged ve  
rily repentant/ without open euidence of grea  
te ſhame & harty ſorrow for his ſynne. For who  
ſo euer & ſpeciallly a prieſte that uſeth pride/en  
uy/ conetouſnes/ lechery/ ſimony/ or any other vi  
ces: and ſherewith not as opyn euidence of repen  
taunce as he hath gynen euyl example and oc  
caſion of ſynnyng/ if he contynew in any ſoche  
ſynne as long as he may/ it is likely that ſynne  
leaueth hym/ and he not ſynne/ and as I vnder  
ſtonde ſoche a one/ ſynneth vnto dethe/ for whos  
me no body oweth to pray/ as ſeynt John ſaith

And a clerke ſaid than to the Archebiſſhop.  
Sir the lenger that ye appoſe hym/ the worſe he  
is: and the more that ye beſy you to amende him  
the wairwarder he is: for he is of ſo ſhrewde a  
kynde/ that he ſhamyth not onely to be hymſelf  
a foule neſte: but without ſhame he beſiech hym  
to make his neſte fouler.

And the Archebiſſhop ſaid to his clerke  
Suffer a while/ for I am at an ende with him  
for ther is one other poynte certified ageynſt  
hym/ and I will heare what he ſaith therto.

**A**nd ſo than he ſaid to me. Lo it is be  
re certified agaynſt the/ that thou pre  
achidſt openly at ſhrewiſbery/ that



it is not lefult to sweare in any case.

And I said. Sir I preachid neuer so openly/nor I haue not tauchte in this wyse in any place. But sir as I preachid in shrewisbery/with my protestacion I say to you now here: y by the authorite of y gospell and of seynt James and by witnesse of diuerse seyntis & doctours I haue preachid openly in one place or other that it is not lefult in any case to sweare by any creature. And ouer this sir I haue also preachid and tauchte by y forsaide authorites y no body shold sweare in any case/if y without othe in any wyse he y is charged to sweare myght excuse hym to the y haue power to compeell hym to sweare in lefult thyng & laufult. But if a mā may not excuse hym without othe to the y haue power to cōpeell hym to sweare/than he ought to sweare onely by god/takyng hym onely y is sothefastnesse/for to witnesse the sothefastnesse.

And then a Clerke askid me/yf it wer not lefult to a subiecte at the bidding of his prelate for to knele downe and to worche the holy gospell booke and kysse it sayng: So helpe me god and this holy dome/for he sholde after his conyng and power doo all thyng that his prelate commaundeth hym.

¶ And I said to the. Sir ye speke here full generatly or largely What if a prelate commaunded his subiecte to doo an vnlaufult thyng/shold he obey therto?

And the Archebissshop said to me A subiecte ought not to supposethat his prelate will bidde

him doo an vnlausfull thing for a subiecte oughte  
to thinke / y his prelate witt bidde hym doo no  
thing but y / he witt answere for before god y it  
is lesfull: & that though y bidding of y prelate be  
vnlesfull / y subiecte hath no paret to fulfill it  
syns that he thinketh ad iudgeth that what so  
euer thing his prelate biddeth hym doo / that it  
is lesfull to hym for to doo it.

And I said. Sir I truste not hereto. But to  
our firste purpose / sir I tell you y I was onys  
in a gentill mannis house / and there war than  
two clerkes there. A master of diuinite / & a man  
of lawe / which mā of lawe was also comuning  
in diuinite. And among other thinges thes mē  
spake of othes / and the man of lawe said. At y  
bidding of his souereyn which hadde power to  
charge hym to sweare / he wold lay his hande  
vpon a booke and heare his charge / and if his  
charge to his vnderstanding wer vnlesfull / he  
wolde hastily with draw his hande frome the  
booke: ad if he perceined his charge to be lesfull  
he wolde holde still his hande vpon y booke tak  
kyng there onely god to witnesse / that he wolde  
fulfill that lesfull charge after his power. And  
the master of diuinite said than to hym thus.  
Certeyn he that leyeth his hande vpon a booke  
in this wyse ad makyth there a promesse to doo  
that thing that he is commaunded / is obliged  
there / by booke othe than to fulfill his charge.  
for no doute he that chargeth hym to lay his  
hande thus vpon a booke / towching the booke &

swearing by it/and fyssing it/promysing in this  
fourme to doo this thyng or that/will say & wit-  
nesse that he that toucheth thus a booke and  
fysseth it hath sworne vpon that booke: and all  
other men that see that man thus doo/and also  
all tho that heare hereof in the same wyse wyll  
saye and witnesse / that thys man hath swor-  
ne vpon a booke / wherefore the master of diuinite  
sayde. It was not lesuff' nother to gyue nor  
to take any soche charge vpon a booke / for euery  
booke is nothing els but diuerse creatures of whi-  
che it is made of. Therfore to swere vpon a booke  
is to sweare by creatures / and this swearinge  
is euer vnlesuff'. This sentence witnesseth Chri-  
sostome playnly blaming them greatly that brin-  
ge forth a booke for to sweare vpon / charginge  
clerkes that in no wise they constrayne any body  
to sweare/whether they thinke a man to sweare  
true or false.

And the Archebishop and his clerkes scorned  
me & blamyd me greaule for this sayng. And y<sup>e</sup>  
Archebishop manassed me with great punissh-  
ment and sharpe/except I lefte this opinion of  
swearinge.

And I saide. Sir this is not myne opinion/  
but it is the opinion of Christ our sauour/and of  
seynt Jamis & of Chrysostome and other diuerse  
seyntes & doctours.

Than the Archebishop badde a clerke rede  
this homely of Chrysostome which homely thys  
clerke helde in his hande writen in a roff/which



rofse the Archebiss hope caused to be taken fro  
my selow at Canterbury: and sothan this clers  
fe redde this rofse tiff he cameto a clause/wher  
Chrysostome saithe / that it is synne to sweare  
well.

And than a clerke Malueren (as I gesse) sa  
id to y archebishop. Sir I praye you wete of hi  
how y he vnderstodeth Chrysostome here/saing  
it to be synne to swere well.

And so y Archebissshop asked me how I vnder  
stode here Chrysostome.

And certeyn I was somewhat a fraideto an  
swere hereto. For I had not besyed me to study  
about the sense thereof/but lyfting vp my myns  
deto god I prayed him of grace. And as faste  
as I thought how Chrysostome said to his apostles/  
whā for my name ye shal be brought before iud  
ges I shall gyue into your mouth wisdomethat  
youre aduersaryes shall not ageynst saye: & trus  
ting feithfully in the worde of god. I said. Sir  
I know well that many men and women haue  
now swearing so in custome/that thei know not  
nor will not knowe that they do euell for: to swea  
re as they do/but they thike & say y they do well  
for: to sweare as they do/though they know wel  
y they sweare vtruelly. For they saye/they maye  
by their swearing (though it be false) voide blas  
me or temporall harme which they sholde haue  
y if they sweare northus. And sir many mē & wo  
men maynteyne strongly that they sweare well  
whan that thinge is so the that they sweare for.

Also full many men and women say nowe/that it is well done to sweare by creatures/whā they maye not(as they saye) otherwise be belued.

And also full many men and women now say that it is well done to sweare by god /and by our ladye/and by other seyntes for to haue thē in mynde. But syns all these saynges ar but excusations and synne/methinketh sir that this sentence of Chrysostome may be alleged well ageinste all soch swerers/witnessing that all thes synne greuously/though they thinke themselves for to sweare in this forsaide wyse well. For it is euyl done and greate synne for to sweare trewthe whan in ony maner/a man may excuse hī without othe.

And the archebishop said/that Chrysostome might be thus vnderstonde.

And than a clerke said to me. Wilt thou tarye my lord no lenger/but submit the here mefely to the ordinaunce of holy churche and laye thynne hande vpon a booke touching the holy gospell of god/promysynge not onely with thy mouth but also with thynne hart to stande to my lordes ordinaunce?

And I said. Sir haue I not told you here/howethat I herde a master of diuinite say that in soche a case it is all one to touche a booke / and to sweare by a booke?

And y<sup>e</sup> archebishop said. There is no master of diuinite in Englonde so greate/that yf he hold thys opinion before me / but I shall punishe

him as I shall do the / except thou sweare as I shall charge the.

And I said. Sir is not Chrysostome an ententyfe doctour?

And the Archebischop saide. Ye.

And I sayde. Yf Chrysostome proueth hym worthy greate blame that bryngeth forth a booke to swere vppon / it muste nedes folowe that he is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

And the Archebischop said. Yf Chrysostome ment accordingly to the ordinaunce of holy chirche we will accepte him.

And than said a clerke to me. Ys not the worde of god & god himself equipollent / that is / off one authorite? And I saide. Ye.

Than he said to me. Why wilt thou not swearethan by the gospell of god / y is gods worde / syns it is all one to sweare by y worde of god / & by god himselfe.

And I said. Sir / syns I may not nowe other wyse be beleued but by swearynge I perceyue (as Augustine saithe) that it is not spedefull y ye that shold be my brothern sholde not beleue me: therfore I am redy by the worde of god (as the lorde commaunded me by his worde) to sweare.

Than the clerke said to me. Laye than thyne hãde vpo y boke touching y holy gospell of god and take thy charge.

And I said. Sir I vnderstondethat the holy



gospell of god maye not be touched with mannes hande.

And the clerke saide. I fonded/and that I sayde not trewthe.

And I asked this clerke whether it wer more to reade the gospell or to touche y gospell.

And he said/it was more to reade y gospell.

Than I said. Sir by authorite of seynt Jerosme the gospell is not the gospell for reding of y letter/but for y beleue that men haue in y worde of god/that it is the gospell that we beleue/and not the letter y we rede: for because the letter y is touched with mannes hande is not the gospell/but y sentence that is verely beleued in mannis hart is y gospell. For so seynt Jerome saith The gospell that is the vertue of goddes worde is not in y leauys of y boke/but it is in y roote of reason. Noether the gospell (he saith) is in y writinge aboue of the letters / but the gospell is in the marking of y sentence of scriptures. This sentence approueth seynt Paule sayng thus. The kyngdome of god is not in worde but in vertue. And Dauid saith. The voice of y lord that is his worde is in vertue. And after dauid saith. Thow the worde of god / y heuens were fourmed/a in the spirite of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I pray you syr/ vnderstande ye well how Dauid saith/that in y spirite of the mouth of y lord is all the vertue of angelles and of men?

And the clerke said to me. Thou woldest ma

te vs to sonde with the. Saye we not y the goss-  
pellis are writen in y masse boke?

And I sayde. Syr: though men vse to saye  
thus/ yet it is vnperfyte speche. For the princis-  
pall parte off a thinge is properlye the hooft  
thyng. For lo/ mannes soule that may not now  
be sene here/ nor touched with any sensible thing  
is properlye man. And all the vertue of a tree is  
in the roote thereof that maye not be sene/ for do  
awaye the roote/ and the tree is destroyed. And  
syr: as ye saydeto me right nowe / god and his  
worde are of one authoite / and syr seynce Jer-  
rome witnesseth that Christe very god and ve-  
ry man is hidde in the letter of his lawe: thus  
also syr: the gossPELL is hidde in the letter. For  
sir as it is full likely many diuerse men and wo-  
men here in the erthe touched Christe and sawe  
hym and knewe his bodely persone whiche no-  
ther touched nor sawe nor knewe gostely his god-  
hede: right thus sir many men now touche and  
see/ and write and rede the scriptures of goddis  
lawe/ whiche nother touche / see nor rede effec-  
tuallye the gossPELL. For as the godhede  
of Christe that is the vertue of god is known  
by the vertue thorow belefe / so is the gossPELL/ y  
is Christes worde.

And a clerke said to me. The be full mys-  
tie maters and vnsauery that thou shewest he-  
re to vs.

And I said. Sir/ if ye that ar masters know  
not playnly this sentence ye may sore drede that

the kyngdome of heuene be taken fro you / as it  
was fro the princes of priestes & fro the elders  
of the iewes.

And than a clerke (as I gesse) Malueren  
sayde to me. Thou knowest not thyne equiuos  
cacyons / for the kyngdome of heuene hath di  
uerse vnderstandinges. What callest thou the  
kyngdome of heuene in this sentence that thou  
shewest here?

And I said. Sir by good reason & sentence  
of doctours y<sup>e</sup> realme of heuene is called here y<sup>e</sup>  
vnderstanding of gods worde.

And a clerke said to me. Frome whō thinkest  
thou that this vnderstandinge is taken awaye?

And I said. Sir by authoute of Christe him  
selfe the effectuall vnderstandinge of Christes  
worde is taken awaye frome all them chesely /  
whiche are greate lettered men and presume to  
vnderstonde hyghe thynges / and will be hols  
den wise men / and desyre mastershippe and hye  
state and dignite / but they will not conforme  
them to y<sup>e</sup> luyng & teaching of Christe and off  
his apostles.

Thā the Archebishop said. Well / well / thou  
wilt indge thy souereyns. By god the kyng dos  
eth not his deutie / but he suffer the to be cons  
dempned.

And than a nother clerke said to me. Why on  
friday that last was / counseldest thou a man off  
my lordes / that he sholde not shriue him to man  
but onely to god?



And with this asking I was abashed / ad  
than by and by I knewe that I was surely bes  
trayed of a man that came to me in prison on  
the fridday before comunyng with me in this  
mater of confessyon / and certeyn by his wor  
des ( I thoughte ) that this man came than to  
me of full feruent and charitable wyll : But no  
we I knowe he came to tempte me and to accus  
se me ( god forgyue him yf it be his will ). And  
with all myne harte whan I hadde thoughte  
thus I said to this clerke. Sir I pray you that  
ye wolde fetch this man hither / & all the wor  
des as nere as I can repete them whiche that  
I spake to hym on fridaye in the pryson I will  
reherse nowe here before you all and before  
hym.

And ( as I gesse ) the Archebishop said thā to  
me. They y are now here suffysed to repete them.  
How saidest thou to him?

And I said. Sir that man came and asked  
me of diuerse thinges / and after his askinge I  
answered hym ( as I vnderstoode ) that goode  
was : and as he shewed to me by his wordes /  
he was sory of his luyng in courte and right  
heny for his owne vicious luyng / and also  
for the viciousnesse of other men and speciaflye  
of priestes cnyll luyng : and herefore he sayde  
to me with a sorowfull harte ( as I gessed ) y he  
purposed fully within shorte tyme for to leane y  
courte / & besye him to knowe gods lawe / and to  
conforme all his lyf thereafter. And whan he

hadde said to methes wordis & mo other/which  
I welderecherse and he wer present / he praied  
me to heare his confession. And I said to hym  
sir/wherfore come ye to me to be cōfessed of me/  
ye wote well that the Archebissshop puttith and  
holdith me here as one vnworthy other to gyue  
or to take any Sacrament of holy churche.

And he said to me. Brother I wote well ad so  
wote many mo other / that you and soche other  
ar wrongfully vered/and herefore I will co  
mon with you the more gladly. And I said to  
hym. Certeyn I wote well that many mē of this  
courte & specially the priestis of this houshol  
de wolde be full euyl a payde both with you &  
with me if they wiste/that ye wer cōfessed of me  
And he said that he cared not therfore / for he  
hadde full litle affeccion in them: and(as me  
tought)he spakethes wordis and many other  
of so goode will and of so hye desyre for to haue  
knownen and done the plesant will of god. And  
I said than to hym as with my fore said protes  
tacion I say to you now here. Sir I counsell  
you for to absente you frome all euyl company  
and to drawe you to them that loone ad besy the  
to knowe and to feape the preceptis of god:and  
than the good spirite of god will mooue you for  
to occupie besily all your wittes in gathering to  
gither of all your synnes as ferre as ye can bes  
thinke you/shamyngre greatly of them and sorow  
wyng hartely for them/ye sir the holy goste will  
than put in your harte a goode will & a feruere

desyre for to take and to holde a goode purpose  
to hate euer and to flie (after your connyng and  
power) all occasion of synne / and so than wysdom  
me shall come to you frome aboue / lightenyng  
with diuerse beames of grace and of heuenly  
desyre all your wittes / enfourmyng you how ye  
shall truste stedfastely in the mercie of the lord  
knowlegyng to hym onely all your vicious ly-  
uynge / prayng to hym euer deuoutely of charis-  
table counsell and continuance / hoping without  
doute that yf ye contynue thus besyng you feith-  
fully to knowe and to kepe his biddings that he  
will (for he onely may) forgyue you all your syn-  
nes. And this man said than to me. Though  
god forgyue men their synnes / yet it behoouyth  
men to be assoyled of priestis and to doo the pen-  
naunce that they enioyne them. And I said to  
hym. Sir it is all one to assoyle men of their syn-  
nes / and to forgyue men their synnes: Wherfor  
syns it pertainyth onely to god to forgyue synne /  
Yt suffisith in this case to counsell men and wo-  
men for to leaue their synne / and to comforte the  
that besye them thus to doo for to hope stedfaste-  
ly in the mercie of god. And ageynwarde / pries-  
tis ought to tell sharpely to customable syn-  
ners / that if they will not make an ende of their  
synne / but contynue in diuerse synnes while  
they may synne / all soche deserue peyn without  
any ede. And herefore priestis sholde euer besy  
them to lyue well and holily and to teach the peo-  
ple besely and trewly the worde of god / shewing



to all folke in open preaching and in pryncy coun-  
selyng that the lord god onely forgiveth syn-  
ne. And therefore those priestis that take vpon the  
to assoule men of their synnes / blasphem god:  
synne that it pertaineth onely to y<sup>e</sup> lord to assoue  
le men of all their synnes. For no doute A thou-  
sande yere after that Christe was man / no prie-  
ste of Christe durste take vpon hym to teache the  
people nother pryncely nor apertly / that they bes-  
hoouyd nedis to come to be assoluid of them / as  
priestis now doo. But by authorite of Christis  
worde / priestis bound indured customable siners  
to euerlasting peynes / which in no tyme of their  
lyuynge wolde besy the feith fully to know y<sup>e</sup> bids-  
dinges of god / nor to feape the. And agayn all  
they that wolde occupie all their wittes to hate  
ad to flie all occasion of synne / dreding ouer all  
thing to offende god / ad loouynge for to please  
hym continually / to thes men & women / priestis  
shewid how y<sup>e</sup> lord assouileth the of all their syn-  
nes. And thus Christe promysed to conferme  
in heuē all y<sup>e</sup> binding & loosynge / y<sup>e</sup> priestis by au-  
thorite of his worde bynde me in synne y<sup>e</sup> ar in-  
dured therin / or loose the out of synne here vpon  
erthe y<sup>e</sup> ar verely repetaunt. And this mā hearig  
thes wordis said / y<sup>e</sup> he myght well i cōsciēce cō-  
sent to this sentēce But he said / is it not nedeful  
to y<sup>e</sup> lay people y<sup>e</sup> cā not thus doo / to go shryue the  
to priestis? & I said yf a mā feale hys self so distro-  
bled with ony sine y<sup>e</sup> he cā not by his owne wit-  
te auoide this synne without counsell of the y<sup>e</sup> ar  
herein wysert than he In soche a case y<sup>e</sup> counsell

of a goode prieste is full necessarie. And if a  
good prieste faile as they doo now comunly / in  
soche a case seynt Augustine saith that a man  
may lesfully comun and take counsell of a vertes  
uous secular man. But certeyn that man or wo  
man is ouerladen ad to bestely / which can not  
brynge their owne synnes into their mynde / be  
sying them nyght and day for to hate and to for  
saue all their synnes / doying a sighe for them af  
ter their connyng and power. And sir full acor  
dingly to this sentence vpon midlenton sonday  
two yere (as I gesse) now agone / I harde a  
monke of Feuersham / that men called Moredō  
preache at Cāterbury at the crosse within Chri  
ste chirche Abbey sayng thus of confession. As  
thorow the suggestion of the fende without cou  
sell of any other body that of themselves many me  
an and women can ymagine and synde meanys &  
wayes inough to come to pride / to thefte / to les  
cherie / and to other diuerse vices : In contrarie  
wyse this monke said. Syns the lord god is  
more redy to forgyue synne than the fende is or  
may be of power to mooue any body to synne /  
than who so euer will shame and sorow hartely  
for their synnes / knouleging them feithfully to  
god / amending them after their power and con  
nyng / without counsell of any other body than  
of god and hymself thorow the grace of god all  
soche men and women may synde sufficient me  
anys to come to goddis mercie / and so to be cle  
ne assoild of all their synnes. This sentence I

said sir to this man of yours and the selfe wois  
dis as nere as I can gesse.

And the Archebissshop said. Holy churche  
approuyth not this learnyng.

And I said. Sir holy churche of which Chri  
ste is hed in heuene and in erthe must nedys ap  
proue this sentence. For lo hereby all men and  
women may / if they wil / be sufficiently tauchte  
to know and to kepe the commaundementis of  
god / and to hate and to flie cōtinewally all oc  
casion of synne / and to looue ad to seke vertues  
besely / and to beleue in god stably / and to trus  
ste in his mercy stedfastly / and so to come to per  
fite charite and contynew therein perseueran  
ly. And more the lorde askith not of ony man he  
renow in this lyfe And certeyn syns Jesu Chri  
ste dyed vpon the crosse wilfully to make men  
fre / men of the churche ar to bolde and to besy to  
make men thral / byndyng them vnder the peys  
ne of endelesse curse (as they say) to doo many  
obseruances and ordinaūcis / which nother the  
lyuyng nor teaching of Churche nor of his apos  
tles approueth.

And a clerke said than to me. Thou shes  
wist playnely here thy disceite which thou hast  
learnyd of thē that trauell to sowe popiss amōg  
wheate. But I cōsell the to go away clene fro  
me this learnyng / and submyt the lowly to my  
lorde / and thou shalt fynde hym yet to be gra  
cious to the.

And as faste than a nother clerke said to me



How wast thou so bolde at Paulis crosse in lō  
dō to stōde there harde with thi tippet bōūden  
about thyne hedde ād to repene in his sermon  
ne the woo:thy clerke Alferton drawyng away  
all ȳ thou myghtist/ye and ȳ same day at after  
none thou metyng ȳ woo:thy doctour in Wat  
lyng strete cassidst hym false flaterer & ypocrite

And I said. Sir I thynk certainly that thes  
re was no man nor wooman that hated verely  
synne and loouyd vertues/hearing the sermons  
ne of the clerke of Oxforde/and also Alfertons  
sermonne/but they sayd or myght iustely say/ ȳ  
Alferton reproouyd the clerke vntrewly / and  
sclaundered hym wrongfully and vncharita  
bly. For no doute if the luyng and teaching of  
Christe chesely and of his apostles be trewe / no  
body that loouyth god ād his lawe wūf blame  
any sentēce that the clerke than preachid there/  
syns by authorite of goddis worde ād by appro  
ued seyntis and doctours and by open reason  
this clerke approued all thingis clerly that he  
preached there.

And a clerke of the Archbishops said to me.  
His sermonne was false & ȳ he shewith openly  
syns he dare not stāde forthe & defende his prea  
ching that he than preached there.

And I said. Sir I thinke that he purposith  
to stāde stedfastely thereby/or els he sclaūdereth  
foully hym self and also many other that haue  
great truste/that he will stande by the trewith  
of the gospels. For I wote well his sermonne is

written bothe in latyne and in Englysch / and  
many men haue it / and they set great pryse  
thereby. And sir if ye wer present wuh the Ar  
chebissshop at lambeth whan this clerke apered  
and was at his answer before y<sup>e</sup> Archebissshop  
ye wote well that this clerke denyed not there  
his sermonne / but two dayes he maynteinyd it  
before the Archebissshop and his clerkis.

And than the Archebissshop or one of his  
clerkis said / I wote not which of the. That har  
lot shall be met with for that sermonne. For no  
man but he and thou and soche other false har  
lots praisith ony soche preaching.

And than the Archebissshop said. Your curs  
sed secte is besy / & it ioieth the right greatly to cons  
trarie & to destroye y<sup>e</sup> pruuilege & fredome of hos  
ly chirche.

**A**nd I said. Sir I knowe  
no men that tranell so besely as this secte dothe  
(whiche you reprene) to make rest & peace in holy  
chirche. For pride conetousnesse & simony which  
distrooble moſte holy chirche this secte hatith &  
fliethe & tranellith besely to mooue all other mē  
in lyke maner vnto meaknesse & wilfull pouerte  
& charite / & fre ministryng of y<sup>e</sup> sacramētis : this  
secte louyth ad vsith ad is full besy to mooue all  
other folkis thus to doo. For thes vertues owe  
all mēbres of holy chirche to their hedde Christe

Than a clerke said to y<sup>e</sup> Archebissshop. Sir it  
is ferre daies ad ye haue ferre to ryde to nyght /  
therfore make an ende with hi / for he will none  
make. But y<sup>e</sup> more sir y<sup>e</sup> ye besy you for to drawe

hym toward you/the more contumax he is made and the ferder fro you.

And than Malueren said to me. William knele downe and praye my lord of grace / and leaue all thy fantasies and become a childe of holy churche.

And I said. Sir I haue praied the Archebissshop ofre and yet I pray hym for the looue of Christe that he wil leaue his indignacion that he harbe ageinst me / and that he wil suffer me after my conning and power for to doo myne office of priesthode / as I am chargid of god to doo it. For I couete nought els but to serue my god to his pleasing in the state y I stāde in and haue taken me to.

And the Archebissshop said to me. Yf of good harte thou wilt submyt the now here mekely to be reulid fro this tyme forth by my counsell / obeiyng mekely and wilfully to myne ordinaunce / thou shalt fynde it moste profitable and beste to the for to doo thus. Therefore tary thou me no lenger / graunte to doo this that I haue said to the now here shortly / or denye it vicerly.

And I said to the Archebissshop. Sir owe we to beleue that Jesu Christe was and is very god and very man?

And the Archebissshop said. Ye.

And I said. Sir owe we to beleue / that all Christis luyng and his teaching is trewe in euery poynte.

And he sayd. Ye.

And I said. Sir owe we to beleue / that the



lyuyng of y<sup>e</sup> apostles & the teaching of Christe &  
of all the prophetes are true which ar writen in  
the bible for the helth and saluacion of goddes  
people? And he said. Ye.

And I saide. Sir owe all christen men & wo-  
men after their connyng and power for to con-  
forme all their lyuyng to the teachyng specialy  
of Christe/and also to the teaching and lyuyng  
of his apostles and of prophetes in all thinges  
that are plesant to god and edificacion to his  
churche? And he said. Ye.

And I said. Sir ought y<sup>e</sup> doctrine/y<sup>e</sup> bidding  
or y<sup>e</sup> counsell of any body to be accepted or: obeid  
vnto/excepte this doctrine / thes biddinges or  
this counsell may be graunted and affermed bi  
Christes lyuyng and his teaching specialy / or  
by the lyuyng and teaching of his apostles and  
prophetes?

And y<sup>e</sup> Archebishop said to me. Other doctri-  
ne oughte not to be accepted / nor we owe not to  
obey to any mānes bidding or: counsell / excepte  
we cā perceyue y<sup>e</sup> this bidding or: counsell aco-  
deth with y<sup>e</sup> bidding & teaching of christ & of his  
apostles and prophetes.

And I said. Sir is not all the learninge ad  
biddinges and counsellis of holy chirche meas-  
nes and healfull remedies to know and to with-  
stand the preny suggestions/& the aperte tēptaci-  
ons of the fendē: and also wayes and healfull  
remedies to slee pride & all other dedely synnes  
& the braūches of the/& souereyn meanes to pur

these grace/for to withstonde and ouercome all  
the fleschly lustes and mouynges?

And the Archebishop saide. Ye.

And I said. Sir what soener thing ye or or  
ny other body bid or counsell me to do/accordi  
gly to this forsaide learning/after my connyng  
e power thoro we y helpe of god I will mekely  
with all myne harte obey therto.

And the Archebishop saydeto me. Submitte  
the than now here mekely and wilfully to the or  
dinance of holy churche /which I shall shewe  
to the.

And I said. Sir accordingly as I haue he  
re nowe before you reherfed I will now be redy  
to obeye full gladly to Christe the hede off all  
holy churche/and to the learnynge and biddyns  
ges and counsell'es off euery pleasyng mem  
bre of hym.

Than the archebishop striking with his han  
de ferselye vpon a cupborde spake to me with a  
greate spyrite sayng. By Jesu but yf thou leaue  
soche addicions obliging the now here without  
ony excepcion to myne ordinaunce/or y I go out  
of this place I shal make the as sure as any thes  
fethat is in y pryson of Lantern. Aduyse y now  
we what thou wilt do. And thā as if he hadde  
ben angered he went fro the cupborde where he  
stode to a wyndowe.

And than Malueren and a nother clerke ca  
me nere me /and they spake to me many wo  
des full pleasantly /at a nother while they manas

sed me/and counfessed full besily to submyt me  
or els they sayde. I sholde not escape ponishing  
ouer mesure / for they saide I sholde be degras  
ded/cursed and burned/and so than dampned  
But now they said thou maiste eschewe all thes  
se mischeues/ys thou wilt submyt the wilfully  
and mekely to thys worthy prelate that hath cu  
re of they soule. And for the pytie of Chyste(saz  
id they) bethinke the / howe greate clerkes the  
bissshop of Lincoln/ Berforde/ & Purney/wer  
yet ar/and also. B. that is a well vnderstonding  
geman/which also haue forsaken and renoked  
all the learnynge and opinions / that thou and  
soche other holde. Wherefore syns eche of them  
is mekell wyser than thou arte / we counsell  
the for the beste / that by the example off thes  
foure clerkes thou folowe them / submyttinge  
the as they dyd.

And one of the bishopes clerkes said thā the  
re/that he herde Nicoll Berforde say/that syns  
he forsoke and renoked all the learning and Lo  
lardes opiniōs/he hath had mekell greater fa  
uour and more delyste to holde ageinst them/thā  
ener he hadde to holde with them while he helde  
with them.

And therfore Maluerē said to me. I vnder  
stonde & thou wilt take y to a priest / & shryue the  
clene/forsake all soch opinions/& take thy penas  
unce of my lord here/for the holding & teaching  
of the/with in shor tyme thou shalt be greatly  
conforted in this doing.



And I sayde to the clerkes that thus besy-  
ly counsell'd me to folowe these forsaide men.

Sirs if thes men of whome ye counsell me to  
take example/had forsaken benefyces of tempos-  
rall profyte/and of worldly worshippe / so that  
they had absented them and eschewed frome  
all occasyons off couetousnesse and of fleschely  
lustes/and had taken them to simple luynges/  
and wilfull pouerte / they hadde herein geuen  
goode example to me and to many other to haue  
folowed them. But now syne all thes foure  
men haue slaunderously and shamefully done  
the contrarye / consentyng to receyue and to ha-  
ue and to holde temporall benefyces / luynges  
now more worldly and more fleschely than they  
did before conformyng them to the maners off  
this worlde: I forsake them herein / & in all thes  
ir forsaide slaunderous doynges. For I purpose  
with the helpe of god in re remission of all my  
synnes & of my foule cursed luyng to hate & to  
flye pryncely & apertly to folow thes me/teaching  
& counsellyng whome soeuer that I may for to  
flye & eschewe the waye that they haue chosen to  
go in / whiche will lede them to the worste ende/  
if in conuenient tyme they repent them not / ve-  
rely forsakyng and reuokynge openly the sla-  
under that they haue put ad euery daye yet put  
to Christes church. For certeyn so open blasphe-  
mye and slaunder as they haue spoken and do-  
ne in their reuokynge ad forsakyng of the trews  
the ought not / nor maye not pryncely be amended

derly. Wherfore first I praye you that ye be sye  
you not for to meoue me to folowe these men in  
reliefynge and forsakynge of the trewthe and  
sothefasienesse as they haue done and yet doo/  
wherein by open euydence they steire god to  
greate wrothe/and not onely ageynst them selfe  
but also ageynste all them that fauoure them or  
consent to them herein/ or that comeneth with  
them/ excepte it be for their amendement. For  
whereas thes men firste were persued of ene-  
mies/now they haue obliged them by othe for  
to slaunder and persue Christe in his meimbreas.  
Wherfor as I trust stedfastely in the goodnes  
of god /the worldly couetousnesse / and the lye-  
stie lyuyng/and the slyding fro the treuth of the  
seruagates shall be to me and to many other  
men and women an example and an euidence  
to stonde the more sturly by the trewthe of Christe

For certeyn/right many men and women doo  
marke and abhorre the foulnesse and coward-  
nesse of these forsaide vntrewe men / howe that  
they are overcome and stopped with benefyces  
and withdrawen fro the trewthe off goddes  
worde/for sakynge vterly to suffer therfore bede-  
ly persecucion. For by this vnfeithfull doynge  
and apostosie of them specially that ar great let-  
tered men/ & haue knowleged openly the trewthe  
& now other for pleasure or displeasynre of tyran-  
tes haue take byer a temporal wages to forsake  
the trewthe & to holde ageinst it/ slaundering ad  
persewing them that couete to folowe Christ in

the waye of rightuousnesse / many men and wo  
men therfore are nowre moued. But many mo  
thorow y grace of god shatt' be moued hereby  
for to learne y treuth of god / & to doo thereafter  
and to stond boldly thereby.

Then the Archebisschoppe sayde to his clers  
kes. Besy you no lenger aboute hym / for he and  
other soche as he is are confedered so to gither  
that they will not sweare to be obedient / and to  
submytte them to prelates of holy churche. For  
nowe syns I stode here / his felowe sent me wor  
de that he will not sweare / and that he couns  
selled hym that he sholde not sweare to me.  
And losell in that thyng that in the is / thou  
haste besyed the to loose thys yonge man / but  
blessed be god / thou shalt not haue thy purpos  
se of hym. For he hath forsaken att' thy lears  
nyng / submyttinge hym to be burne and o  
bedient to the ordinaunce of holy churche / and  
wepeth full' bitterly / and curseth the full' hars  
ely for the venemous teachyng whiche thou  
haste shewed to hym / counsellinge hym to doo  
thereafter. And for thy false counsellinge  
of many other and hym thou haste greate caus  
seto be righte sory. For long tyme thou hast be  
syed the to peruertere whom soeuer thou mightest  
Therefore as many deathes thou arte worthy of  
as thou hast geuen enell councelles. And there  
fore by Jesu thou shalt go thither / where Nic  
coll Barforde and tom Puruay were herbered  
And I vndertake / or thys daye eyghte dayes



then shalt be righte gladde for to doo what  
thyng that euer I bydde the doo. And I sell I  
shall assaye if I can make y<sup>e</sup> there as sorowfull  
(as it was tolde me) thou wast gladde of my la  
ste going out of England. By seynt Thomas I  
shall tounethy ioye into sorowe.

And I sayde. Sir/there can no body proue  
lausfully that I ioyed euer of the maner of youre  
goynge out of this lande. But sir to saye the  
sothe I was ioyfull whan ye were gone/for the  
bissshop of London in whos pryson ye lefte me/  
founde in me no cause for to holde me lenger  
in his pryson/but at the requeste of my frendes  
he deliuered me to them asking of me no maner  
of submityng.

Then the archebischoppe saide to me. Whers  
fore that I yede out of England is vnknown  
to the: But be this thinge well known to the/  
that god(as I wote well) hath called me a gey  
ne and broughte me into this lande for to des  
troye the and the false secte that thou arte off/  
as by god I shall persue you so naroulye/  
that I shall not leaue a steppe off you in this  
lande.

And I said to the archebissshop. Sir the holy  
prophete Jeremy said to the false prophete Ana  
ny. Whan the worde that is the prophecye of a  
prophete is known or fulfilled/than it shall be  
known that the Lorde sent the prophete in  
treuthe

And the Archebischoppe as if he hadde not

ben pleased with my saynge turned hym away  
warde hyther and thither / and sayde.

By god I shall sette vpon thy shynnes a paire  
of perlis that thou shalt be gladde to chaunge  
thy voice.

Thes & many mo woderous & cōvicious wor  
des wer spoken to me manassing me & all other  
of the same secte for to be punisshed & destroyed  
vnto the vtermoste.

And the Archebischop called than to hym a  
clerke / & rowned with hym / & that clerke wēt for  
the & sone he brought in the Constable of Salis  
wode castell / and y<sup>e</sup> archebischop rowned a good  
while with hym / and than the Constable went  
forthe / and than cam in diuerse seculers / and  
they scorned me on euery syde / & manassed me  
greatly. And some coanselled the Archebischop  
to burne me by and by / and some other counsels  
led hym to drounde me in the see / for it is neres  
hande there.

And a clerke standyng be syde me there kne  
lede downe to the Archebischoppe praiyng hym  
that he wolde delyuer me to hym for to saye ma  
tenes with hym / and he wolde vnder take that  
within thre dayes I sholde not resiste any thyn  
ge that were commaunded me to doo of my pres  
late.

And the archebischop said / that he wold ordai  
ne for me himselfe.

And than after came in a geyn y<sup>e</sup> Constable  
& spake priuely to y<sup>e</sup> archebischop.

And than the Archebissshop commaunded  
the constable to lede me forthethens with hym  
and so he did. And whan we wer gone forth  
thens/we wer sent aftar ageyn. And whan I  
came in ageyne befoze the Archebissshop/a cler  
ke badde me knele downe and aske grace/and  
submit me lowly/and I sholde fynde it for the  
beste.

And I said than to the Archebissshop. Sir  
as I haue said to you diuers tymes to day / I  
will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to  
be ordenid euer after my connyng and power  
to god and to his lare/and to euery membre of  
holy chirche/as ferre forth as I can perceyue  
that thes mēbres accorde with their hedde Chri  
ste and will teache me/ reule me / or chastyse me  
by authorite specially of goddis lawe.

And the Archebissshop said. I wiste well he  
woulde not without soche addicions submit hym

And than I was rebuftyd/scornyd and ma  
nasyd on euery syde / and yet after this diuerse  
persones cried vpon me to knele downe ad sub  
mit me/but I stode still and spake no worde.  
And than there was spokyn of me ad to me ma  
ny greate wordis/and I stode ad herde them  
manase/curse & scorne me:but I said nothing

Than a while after the Archedissshop said  
to me. Wilt thou not submitt her to the ordinance  
of holy chirche?

And I said. Sir I will full gladly submit  
me/as I haue shewid you befoze.



ben pleased with my saynge turned hym away  
warde hyther and thither / and sayde.

By god I shall sette vpon thy shynnes a paire  
of perlis that thou shalt be gladde to chaunge  
thy voice.

Thes & many mo woderous & cōvicious wor  
des wer spoken to me manassing me & all other  
of the same secte for to be punisshed & destroyed  
vnto the vtermoste.

And the Archebischop called than to hym a  
clerke / & rowned with him / & that clerke wēt for  
the & sone he brought in the Constable of Salts  
wode castell / and y<sup>e</sup> archebischop rowned a good  
while with hym / and than the Constable went  
forthe / and than cam in diuerse seculers / and  
they scorned me on euery syde / & manassed me  
greatly. And some counsellid the Archebischop  
to burne me by and by / and some other counsels  
led hym to drounde me in the see / for it is neres  
hande there.

And a clerke standyng be syde me there knes  
lede downe to the Archebisshoppe praiyng hym  
that he wolde delyuer me to hym for to saye ma  
tenes with hym / and he wolde vndertake that  
within thre dayes I sholde not resiste any thyn  
ge that were commaunded me to doo of my pres  
late.

And the archebischop said / that he wold ordai  
ne for me himselfe.

And than after came in a geyn y<sup>e</sup> Constable  
& spake priuely to y<sup>e</sup> archebischop.

And than the Archebissshop commanded  
the constable to lede me forthethens with hym  
and so he did. And whan we wer gone forth  
thens/we wer sent after ageyn. And whan I  
came in ageyne before the Archebissshop/a cler  
ke badde me knele downe and aske grace/and  
submit me lowly/and I sholde fynde it for the  
beste.

And I said than to the Archebissshop. Sir  
as I haue said to you diuers tymes to day / I  
will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to  
be ordenid euer after my connyng and power  
to god and to his lawe/and to euery membre of  
holy chirche/as ferre forth as I can perceyue  
that thes mēbres accorde with their hedde Chri  
ste and will teache me/ reule me / or chastyse me  
by authorite specially of goddis lawe.

And the Archebissshop said. I wiste well he  
woulde not without soche addicions submit hym

And than I was rebuftyd/scornyd and man  
nasyd on euery syde / and yet after this diuerse  
persones cried vpon me to knele downe ad sub  
mit me/but I stode still and spake no worde.  
And than there was spokyn of me ad to me ma  
ny greate wo:dis/and I stode ad herde them  
manase/curse & scorne me:but I said nothing

Than a while after the Archedissshop said  
to me. Wilt thou not submitt here to the ordinance  
of holy chirche?

And I said. Sir I will full gladly submit  
me/as I haue shewid you before.

And than the Archebissshop badde the Constable to haue me forthethen in haste.

And so than I was ledde forth / & brought into a foule vnhoneste pryson / where I came neuer before. But thanked be god / whan all my wer gone forthethan frome / and had sparred faste the pryson dore after them: by and by after I therein by myself bejed me to thinke on god / & to thanke hym of his goodnesse. And I was than greatly cōforted in all my wittes / not onely for that I was than deliuered for a tyme fro the sighte / fro the hearing / fro the presence / fro the scornynge and fro the manasyng of myne enemies: but moche more I reioysed in the lorde because that thorow his grace he kept me so both among the flatering specially and among the manasyng of myne aduersaries / y without heynesse ad anguyshe of my cōscience I passed away fro them. For as a tree laide vpon a nother tree ouer wharic or on crosse wyse / so was the Archebissshop and his thre clerkes alwayes contrary to me / and I to them.

Now goode god for thyne holy name / and to the praisynge of thy moste blessed name / make vs one to gyther / if it be thy wiil / by authorite of thy worde / that is true perfite charite / and cloner. And that it may thus be / all that this wrytyng reade or heare praye hartely to y lorde god that he for his greate goodnesse that can not be with tonge expressed / graunte to vs and to all other / that in the same wyse / and for the same



cause specially or for any other cause be at dis-  
staunce/to be knette and made one in true feith/  
in stedfast hope/and in perfite charite. Amen.

¶ Thus endeth the examynacion of Master  
Wyttiam Thorpe. And here after foloweth  
hy testament.

**W**ithen an apostle of Christe & his go-  
speler witnesseth truly in the holy go-  
spell the moste holy lyuynge and the  
moste holome teaching of Christe. Be rehersuh  
how that Christe likeneth them that heare his  
wordis and kepe them/to a wyse man that bils-  
deth his house vpon a stone/ that is a stable ad  
a sadde grounde. This house is mannis soule  
in whome Christe deliteth to dwell / if it be  
grounded that is stablissed feithfully in his  
lyuynge and in his trewe teaching/adourned or  
made fayre with diuerse vertues / which Chris-  
te vsed ad taucht without any medlynge of any  
errour/as ar chesely the condicions of charite.  
This forsaide stone is Christe vpon which euery  
feithfull soule must be bylded/ syne vpon none  
other grounde than vpon Christis lyuynge and  
his teaching no body may make eny byldynge  
or housynge/where in Christe will come & dwell  
This sentence witnesseth seynt Paul to the co-  
rinthians shewing to them that no body may  
sett any other grounde than is sett/ys Christis  
lyuynge & his teaching. And because ys all men  
& women sholde gyue all their besynesse here in

this lyfe to bylde them vertueusly vpon this su-  
re foundacion: seynt Paul knowleging the fer-  
uent desyre and the goode will of the people of  
Ephesy wrote to them cōfortably sayng: Now  
ye ar not straungeris / gestis / no: yet comelingis  
but ye ar the citezynes and of the housholde of  
god / byldyd aboue vpon the feundament of the  
apostles and prophetis. In which foundamēt  
enery byldyng that is byldyd or made thorow  
the grace of god / it encreaseth or groweth into  
an holy temple: that is / enery body / that is groun-  
ded or bylded feithfully in the teaching and ly-  
uynge of Chryste is there thorow made the holy  
temple of god. This is the stable grounde and  
stedfast stone Chryste / which is the sure corner  
stone faste ioynnyng and holdyng myghtely to-  
gether two wallis. For thorow Chryste Jesu  
meane or middell persone of the trinite / the fa-  
ther of heuen is pituous or mercifully ioynyd  
and made one to gather to mankynde. And thos-  
row drede to offende god / ad feruent loone to  
please hym / men be vnseparably made one to  
god and defended surely vnder his proteccion.  
Also this forsaide stone Chryste was figured by  
the square stones of which the tēple of god was  
made. For as a square stone / wher soeuer it is  
caste or layde / it abyderh & lieth stabe'y: so Chri-  
ste and enery feithfull mēbre of his churche by  
example of hym abyderh and dwellith stably  
in true faith / and in all other heuenly vertues  
in all aduersites that they suffer in this valley

of tearis. For lo/whan thes forsaide square ston-  
nes wer heuen and wroughte for to be layde in  
the wallis or pillars of goddis temple none noys  
se or stroke of the workemen was harde. Certain  
this silence in working of this stene figureth  
Christe chesely and his feithfull meembres/which  
by example of hym haue ben and yet ar / & euer  
to the worldis ende shall be so meke and paciēt  
in euery aduersite that no sounde nor yet any  
grudging shall any tyme be perceined in them.  
Neuerthelesse this chese and most worshipfull  
corner stone whiche onely is grounde of all ver-  
tues proude beggers reprevyd: but this despite  
and re:pe Christe sufferid most mekely in his  
owne person for to gyue exāple of all mekenesse  
and pacienceto all his feithfull folowers. Cert-  
teyn this worlde is now so full of proude beg-  
gers which ar namyd priestis: but the very offi-  
ce of working of priesthode / which Christe ap-  
prouyth trewe & acceptith / is farre fro the mul-  
titude of priestis that now reigne in this worl-  
de. For fro the hiest priest to the lowest / all (as  
who say) studie / that is they ymagine and tras-  
uelt besyl / how they may please this worlde &  
their flessch. This sentence & many soch other  
dependeth vpon them if it be well considered /  
other god the sather of heuen hath deceiuyd all  
mankynde by the liuyng speciallly & teaching of  
Jesu Christe / & by the liuyng & teaching of his  
apostles & prophetis: or els all the popys y haue  
ben / syns I hadde any knowlege or discretion /



with all the college of Cardinallis Archebishops  
hopis & bisschopis / Monks & canons & friers  
with all the contagious flocke of the communal  
tie of priesthode whych haue all my lyfe tyme &  
meke. I longer reigned & yet reigne & encrease  
dampnably fro synne into synne / haue bene &  
yet be proude / obstinate heretikes / couetous sy  
moners & defoulyd aduulterers in y ministrig  
of the sacramentis / & specially yn ministryng  
of the sacrament of the altare. For as their wor  
kys shewe wherto Christe biddeth vs take hede /  
the hyest priestis and prelatis of this priesthode  
challenge and occupie vnlesfully temporall lorde  
shippes. And for temporall fauour and me  
de they sell and gyue benefices to vnworthy &  
vnable persones / yethes symoners sell synne suf  
feryng men & womē in euery degre & estate to  
lye & cōtinew fro yeare to yeare in diuerse vices  
sclaūderously. And thus by euill exāple of hye  
priestis in the churche / lower priestis vnder them  
ar not onely suffered / but they ar maynteined to  
sell full dere to y people for tēporall meede all y  
sacramētis. And thus all this forsaide priestho  
de is blowen so hye & borne vp in pride & vayne  
glorie of their estate & dignite / & so blindid with  
worldly couetousnesse y they disdeyne to folow  
Christe in very mekenesse & wilfull pouerte ly  
uynge holily / & preaching goddis wordetrenly  
frely & cōtinually / takynge their lyuelode at the  
fre will of y people of their pure almose / where  
and whan they suffyse not for their trewe & besy

preaching to gett their sustenance with their hā  
dis. To this trewe sentēce grounded on Christs  
owne luyng & teaching of his apostles/thes for  
said worldly & fleschly priestis will not consente  
effectually. But as their werkys ad also their  
wordis shewe/ boldeli & vnshamefastly thes for  
said named priestis & prelatys conett / & enforce  
thē mightely & besely y all holy scripture wer ex  
pōūdid & drawne accordingly to their maners  
ad to their vngroudid vsagis & syndynge. For  
they will not (syns they holde it but foly & mad  
nesse) conformet their maners to the pure and  
symple luyng of Chryste and his apostles/ nor  
they will not folow frely their learnyng. Where  
fore all the emperours and kynges/ ad all other  
lordis and ladies/ and all the cemon people in  
euery degre and state/ which haue before tyme  
knownen or myght haue knownen/ ad also all they  
that now yet knowe or myght knowe this for  
said witnesse of priesthode/ and wolde not nor  
yet will enforce them after their connyng and  
power to withstonde charitably the forsaid ene  
myes and traitours of Chryste ad of his churche  
all thes stryue with Antechryste agēst Jesu  
And they shall beare the indignaciō of god al  
mightie withouten ende/ if in conuenient tyme  
they amendethem not/ and repente them verely  
doynge therfore dew moornyng ad sorow af er  
their connyng & power. For theow presumptu  
ousnes & negligence of priestis & prelatys (not of  
the churche of Chryste/ but occupiying their pres

lacy vnderwylly in the chyrche & also by flaterynge  
and false conetousnes of other diuerse namyd  
prieſtis) louſengers & lounderers ar wrongfull  
made & named heremites/ & haue leue to defrau  
de poore & nedy creatures of their lyuelode / ad  
to lye by their false winnyng and begging in  
flourhe and in other diuerse vyces. And also of  
thes prelates thes cofir noses ar suffered to ly  
ue in prude & hypocresy / & to defoulth themself  
both bodely & goſtiely. Also by the sufferynge ad  
counſell of thes forſaid prelatis & of other prie  
ſtis/ ar made vayne both brotherhodie & ſuſters  
hodie full of prude & enuye/ which ar full cons  
trarie to the brotherhode of Chriſte/ ſyns they ar  
cauſe of meffill diſſenſion/ & they multiplic & ſuſ  
ſteyne it vndcharitably: for in luſty eatyng & drins  
kyng vnmefurably & out of tyme they exercyſe  
themself. Also this vayne confederacye of bros  
therhodie/ is permitted to be of one clothyng ad  
to holde to gither. And in all thes vngrounded  
and vnleſfull doyngeſ/ prieſtis ar parteners &  
and greate meddelers & counſellers And ouer  
this viciousnes/ heremitis & pardoners/ ankers  
and ſtraunge beggers ar licensed & admitted of  
prelatis & prieſtis for to begyle the people with  
flaterynge & leaſynge ſclaunderouſly ageinſt  
all goode reaſon & trewe beleue/ & ſo to encrease  
diuerſe vices in themself & also among all them  
that acceptethem or coſente to them. And thus  
the viciousnes of thes forſaid named prieſtis &  
prelatis haue ben long tyme/ & yet is/ & ſhall be



cause of warres both withi yrealme & without  
And in the same wise thes vnable priestes haue  
bene/ & yet are/ & shall be the cause of pestilenc  
ce of men/ & mozen of beestes / & of barenesse of  
the erthe/ & of all other mischeces / to the tyme y  
lordes & comons able them thorow grace for to  
knowe & to kepe the commaundementes of god/  
enfor syng them than feithfully & charitably by  
one assente for to redresse & make one this for  
said priesthode to the wilfull/ pore/ meke / & inno  
centlyuyng & teaching speciattly of E hriste & his  
apostles. Therefore all they that knowe or myght  
knowe the viciousnes that reigneth now cursed  
ly in thes priestes & in their learning / yf they suf  
fise not to vndstond this contagious viciousnes  
let them praye to the loide hartely for the health  
of his churche/ absteinyng the prudently fro thes  
endured enemies of E hriste and of his people/  
and frome all their sacramentes / syns to the all  
that knowe them or maye knowe they are but  
fleschly deades & false: as seynt Cipriane witnes  
seth in the first question of decrees/ & in the firste  
cause. Ca. Si quis inquit. For as this seynthe &  
great doctours witnessethere/ that not onely vi  
cious priestes. but also all they that fauoure the  
or consente to them in their viciousnes shall to  
gither perisse with them yf they amende them  
not dewly: as all they perished that cosented to  
Dathan & Abiron. For nothing wer more co  
fusyon to thes forsaide vicious priestes/ than to  
eschewe them prudently in all their vnlesfull sas

eramentes/while they continew in their synne  
lyuyng slaunderously/as they haue longe tyme  
done and yet do. And no dody nedeto be afraide  
(though de the did folow by one wise or other) for  
to dye out of this worlde without takyng of any  
sacramēt of these forsaide chustes enemies/syns  
chuste wif not faile for to minisire him selfe all  
lefult and healfult sacramentes and necessarye  
at all tyme/ād speciall̃y at the ende/to all them  
that are in trewe feryth/in stedfaste hope/and in  
perfyte charite. But yet some mad foolis saye  
for to eschewe slaunder/they wif be shryne ones  
in the ycare and comuned of theire proper pries  
stes/though they knowe them defouled with sla  
underous vices. No doute but all thei that thus  
do or consente priuely or apertly to soch doynge  
ar culpable of great synne/syns seynt Paul wit  
nesseth that not only they that do euyl are wor  
thy of de the & dampnacion: but also they that cō  
sente to euyl doars. Also (as their slaunderous  
se wo:kes witnesse) thes forsaide vicious pries  
tes despyce and caste from them heuēly connyng  
that is gyuen of the holy goste. Wherefore the  
lorde throweth all soche despisers frome hym  
that they vse nor do any priesthode to hym. No  
doute than all they that wittingly or wilfully ta  
ke or consente y any other bodye sholderake/any  
sacrament of any soche named priesie / synneth  
opely & dāpnably ageynst all the trinite & ar vn  
able to any sacrament of healthe. And that this  
forsayde sentence is all to gither trewe / into res

mission of all my synfull lyuynge trustinge sted-  
fastly in the mercy of god I offer to him my sou-  
le. And to proue also this forsaide sentence trewe  
with the helpe of god I purpose fully for to suf-  
fer mekely and gladly my moste wretched body  
to be tormented / where god witt / & of whome he  
witt / how he witt / and whan he witt / & as long  
ge as he witt / & what temporall peyne he will &  
dethe / to the praisynge of his name & to the edifi-  
cacion of his churche. And I that am moste vn-  
worthy & wretched carytyf shall now thorow the  
speciall grace of god make to him plesaunte sac-  
crifice with my moste synfull & unworthy body.  
I beseeche hartly all folke that rede or heare this  
ende of my purposed testament / that thorow  
the grace of god they dispose verely & vertuous-  
ly all their wittes / & able in lifemaner all their  
membres for to vnderstonde truly and to kepe  
feythfully charitably & continually all the com-  
maundementes of god / and so than to pray

denoutly to all the blessed trinite / that

I maye haue grace with wisdom &  
prudence frome aboue / to ende

my lyfe here in this forsaide

truethe & for this cau

se / in true feith and

stedfaste hope

& in persi

te chari

te.

**A M E N.**



**H**ere endeth sir William Thorpistesta  
ment on the friday after the rode daye  
and the twentye daye of September/  
In the yeaere of our lorde a thousand foure hun  
dred and sixtie. And on the sonday nerte after the  
feste of seynt Peter that we call Lammesse daye  
in the yeaere of our lorde a thousand / foure hun  
dred and seven / the said sir William was accus  
sed of thes poyntes before witen in this booke  
before Thomas of Arundell Archebishoppe of  
Canterbury as it is sayde before. And so  
was it than betwixt the day of his  
accusing and the daye that this  
was wryten three and fiftye  
yeare and as mekill mo  
re as fro the Lammes  
se to the woden  
se. Beholde  
the ende.

**T**he strength of euery tale is  
in the ende.

**H**ere foloweth the Examinacon  
of the Lorde Cobham.

## **T**he beleue of the Lorde Cobham.



**B**e it knowne to all men that in y<sup>e</sup> yeare of oure Lorde a thousand foure hundred and thirtene / in y<sup>e</sup> first yeare of the reigne of kynge Henry the fiste. The kynge gaue to the bissshop of Canterbury leaue to correcte the lorde Cobham. And because no man durste somone hym personally / the archbisschoppe set vp a citacion on his cathedra<sup>ll</sup> chyrche doore on the wennisday nexte before the natiuite of our lady in the forsaide yeare / and that citacion was taken downe by the frendes of the lorde Cobham: and after that the bisschoppe set vp a nother on oure lady day whiche also was rent downe / and because he came not to answere on the daye assigned in the citacion the bisschop cursed him for contumacye. And the lorde Cobham seyng all this malice purposed ageynst hi / wrote this beleue that foloweth with his owne hande and noted it hym selfe: and also answered to foure poyntes put ageinst him by the bisschop / & he went to the king supposing to get of him good fauour and lordship.

## **T**he beleue.

**I**beleue in god the father almighty / maker of heuen and of erthe / and in Jesu Christe his onely sonne oure lord / which was conceyued of the holy goste / borne of the virgyn Marie / and suffered deathe vnder Ponce Pilate / crucifyed / dede and buryed.

He went downe to helles: the thirde daye he ro-  
se ageyn fro dethe: he ascended vp into heuenis  
he sitteth on the righte hande of god the father  
almightie: fro thence he is to come to iudge the  
quicke & dede. I beleue in the holy goste: all holy  
church: the comunyon of seyntes: forgiuenesse  
of synnes/vprisyng of flesche/and cuerlastyng e-  
lyfe. Amen.

And for to declare more playnly my sothfast-  
nes in the beleue of holy church. I beleue seith  
fully and verely that there is but one god almis-  
ghtie/and in this godhede and of this godhede  
ben thre persones: the father/the sonne /and the  
holy goste / and these thre persones be the same  
god almighty. Forthermore I beleue that the  
seconde person of this most blessed trinite in mo-  
ste conuenient tyme before ordered tooke flesche  
and bloode of the moste blessed virgine our lady  
seynte Marie for the redempcion and saluacion  
of mankynde that was losse before for Adams  
synne. And I beleue that Jesu Christe our lord  
de which is bothe god and man is hedde of all  
holy church / and that all tho that ben or shall  
be saued ben members of this moste holy church/  
which holy church is departed in thre partes/  
of the which one parte is now in heuē/that  
is to say / y seyntes that in this lyfe lyued accor-  
dingly with y most blessed lawe of Christ & his  
lyuīg/despising & forsaking y deuell & his wor-  
kes/y prosperites of this world & the foule luste  
of y flesch. The.ij. parte is in purgatory abiding



the mercy of god / & purging the there of their sin-  
nes / of y which they haue be truely confessed in  
dede or els in witt to haue be. The. iij. part of the  
is church is here in erthe / y which is called y fy-  
ghtig church / for it fighteth euery day & night as  
gensst y temptacio of y deuell / y prosperite of this  
falle failing worlde / & the proude rebellio of the  
flesch agensst y soule. This church is departed by  
y most blessed ordinaunce of god into thre estates  
y is to saye / priesthode / knighthode / & comōs / to  
euery estate of y whiche god gaue charge y one  
sholde helpe a nother / & none destroye other. As  
to puestes / they sholde be moste holy & lest world-  
ly & treuly luyng as nere as they coulde after  
the example of Christe and his apostles. And  
all their besynesse sholde be daye and nyghte in  
holy example of luyng and trewe preachinge  
and teaching of goddes lawe / to berthe the other  
partes. And also they shold be most meke / moste  
seruisable / & most lowly in spirite both to god & to  
mā. In the. ij. parte of this church y is knyght-  
hod ben conteyned all that beare the swerde by  
lawe of office / which sholde mainteyne goddes  
lawe to be preached and taucht to the people & d  
principally the gospell of Christe / and treuly to  
lynethereafter: the whiche parte sholde rather  
put them selfe to parell of dethe / than to suffer  
any lawe or constitucion to be made of mā / whe-  
rethorow the fredome of goddes lawe myghte  
be letted to be preached and taucht to the peo-  
ple / or whereof any erreure or heresye myghte

growe in the church. For I suppose fully that  
there maye come none heresye nor erreure as  
monge the people/ but by false lawes / constituc  
tyons/ or teachynges contrarye to Christes las  
we/ or by false lesynges. Also the seconde parte  
sholde defende the comon people fro tyrauntes  
oppressours and extorcioners/ and maynteyn y  
clergy doynge dewly their office/ in preachinge/  
teaching/ prayng/ and frely ministring the sacra  
mentes of holy church. And if this clergie be neg  
ligent in doing this office/ this seconde parte of  
the church ought by their office that they haue  
taken of god to constreyn the clergie in þe wy  
se to do their office in the forme that god hath  
ordened it to be done. The thirde parte of this  
fighting church oweth to beare good will to lor  
des and to priestes/ truly to do their bodely las  
boure in tilling the earth/ & with their true mar  
chandise doing their duties that they owe both  
to knyghthode and to priesthode/ as goddes las  
we lymeteth keeping feithfully the cōmandmē  
tes of god. Moreover I beleue all y sacramētes  
of holy church for to be medfull & profitable to all  
that shall be saued/ takyng of them after y entent  
that god and holy church haue ordened. And  
for as mefell as I am sclaundered falselye  
of my beleue in the sacrament of the altar/ I do  
all Christen men to witte / that I beleue verely  
that the moste blessed sacrament of the altare is  
very Christes body in forme of bread/ y same bo  
dy y was borne of y blessed virgin our lady seyn

re Mary/done on the crosse/ dede/buried / & on  
y<sup>e</sup> thirde day rose frō dethe to lyfe/ y<sup>e</sup> which body  
is now glorified in heuen Also I beleue that all  
goddys lawe is trewe/ & who that lyueth contrar  
iously to this blessed lawe/ & so contyneth to  
his lyues ende & dyeth so bryfing the holy com  
maundementis of god that he shall be damp  
nyd into euerlasting peynes. And he that will  
learne this moste blessed lawe & lyue ther after  
kepynge thes holy commaundementis of god ad  
enderth in charite shall haue euerlasting blysse.  
Also I vnderstande that this felowith of bele  
ue/ that our lord Jesu Chryste y<sup>e</sup> is bothe god &  
man asketh nomore here in erthe/ but y<sup>e</sup> he obey  
to hym after the fourme of his lawe in trewe kes  
ping of it. And if ony prelate of the churche aske  
more obediēce than this of ony man lynyng/ he  
exaltith hymself in that aboue Chryste/ & so he is  
an open Antichriste. Also thes poyntes I holde  
as of beleue in especiall. And in generall/ I  
beleue all that god will that I beleue/ praing  
at the reuerence of almighty god to you my liege  
lorde/ that this beleue myght ben examyned by  
the wisest & trewest clerkis of your realme/ & if it  
be trewe/ that it myght be confermyd / & I to  
be holden for a trewe chrysten man: & if it be false  
that it myght be dampned / & I trauchte a better  
beleue by goddis lawe/ and I will gladly obey  
thereto.

This forsaide beleue the lorde Cobham wro  
te & rooke it with hym & offered it to the kyng for



to see/ & the kyng wolde not receiue it / but bad  
hym take it to them that shelde be his iudges.  
And than the lorde of Cobham offered to bryn-  
ge before the kyng to purge hym of all error and  
heresy that they wolde put against hym an hun-  
dred knyghtes & squieres. And also he offered  
to fighte with any mā chastyse or hethen y wold  
say y he wer false in his beleue/ except the kyng  
and his brethren. And after he said / he wold  
submit hym to all maner correcciō that any mā  
wold correcte hym after goddis lawe. And not  
withstanding all this the kyng suffered hym  
to be somoned personally in his owne chamber.  
And the lorde of Cobham said to the kyng/ that  
he hadde appeled to the pope fro the Archebis-  
shop/ wherfore he said he ought not to take him  
for his iudge/ & so he hadde there his appele re-  
dy written/ & shewid it to the kyng: & therewith/ y  
kyng was more angry & said. He sholde not  
pursue his apele/ but rather he sholde be i war-  
de till his appele wer admitted: and than wolde  
he or not/ he sholde be his iudge. And thus no-  
thing of all this myght be alowed / but because  
he wolde not sweare to submit hym to the chur-  
che & take what penaunce the Archebisschop wold  
inioyne hym/ he was arrested & sent to the towre  
of London to keape his day that the bisschop as-  
signed hym in the kynges chamber. And than  
he made the beleue afore said with the answer-  
es to foure poyntes that now folow to be writ-  
ten in two partes of an endenture. And whan

he came to answer he gaue that one part to the  
bisshope/and that other parte he kept to hymself.

**T**he endenture of the lorde Cobham

**I**ohn Olde castell knyght & lorde of  
Cobham will y all churche men wete/  
how y Thomas of Arundell Arche-  
bissshop of Eaterbury hath now leyde malicious-  
ly & vntreuly by his letter & his seale written of  
me in sclaunderous wyse y I sholde otherwyse  
seale and teache of y sacramētis of holy chirche/  
assynng in speciall y sacrament of y altare/the  
sacramēt of penaunce/ & also in worshipping of  
ymagis/ & in goyng on pilgrimagis: otherwyse  
than sealeth and teacheth the vniuersall holy  
chirche. I take almighty god to witnes y it hath  
ben & now is/ & euer with the helpe of god shall  
be myne entēt & my will to beleue feithfully and  
treuly in all the sacramētis y euer god ordened  
to be done in holy chirche. And more ouer forto  
declare me in thes poyntes aforesaid. I beleue  
that y moste worshipfull sacramēt of y altare is  
very Churstes body in fourme of breade/ y same  
body y was borne of the blessed virgin our lady  
seynt Marie done on y crosse/dede & buried/and  
the thirde day rose fro deth to lyfe / y which bod-  
dy is now glorified in heuē Also as for y sacra-  
mēt of penaunce I beleue y it is nedefull to eueri  
mā y shall be sauyd to forsake synne/and to doo  
dew penaunce for synne before done/ with trewe  
cōfessiō/very cōtriciō/ & dew satisfacciō/ as god  
dislaw limeteth & teacheth/ & cle may he not be  
sauyd/which penaunce I desyre all men to doo

And as for ymagis I vnderstonde that they  
be not of belefe but they wer ordered (syns bele  
ue was geuyn of Christe) by sufferaunce of the  
chirche for to be kalenderis to lay men to repres  
sente & bring to mynde the passion of our lord  
Jesu Christe/and martirdome / & good lyuynge  
of other sayntes. And that who so it be that dos  
eth the worship to dedde ymages that is detre  
to god/or puttith hope feyth or truste in helpe of  
them/as he sholde doo to god or haue affeccio  
in one more than in a nother/he doeth in that y  
greate synne of ydolatrie. Also I suppose this  
fuffly/that euery man in this erthe is a pilgry  
me toward blesse or toward peyne. And that he  
that knowith not no: will not knowe nor fepe y  
holy commaundementis of god in his liuynge  
here/all be it/that he go on pilgrimage into all  
the worlde/and he dye so/he shall be dampned  
And he that knoweth the holy commaundemē  
tis of god and kepith them to his ende he shall  
be sauyd/though he neuer in his lyfe go on pil  
grimage as men vse now to Canterbury or to  
Rome or to any other place.

This beleue indented conteinyng the fo: said  
beleue with thes fo: said answeres he toke to y  
bissshops whan he cam to answer on the saturday  
next befo: Michelmesse in the yeare afore  
sayd. And what so euer the bissshopes asked him  
he badde them looke what his biss said therro/  
and therby wolde he stande to the dethe: other/  
answer gaue he not that day/but the bissshopes



wer not quietyd herewith. And the Archebiss  
shop badde hym take auysement till moneday  
next folowing to answer to this poynte/ Yf the  
re remained materiall brede in the sacramēt of  
of the altare after the wordis of consecracion.  
And in the meane tyme he perceiuyd that the ve  
termoste malice was purposed against hi how  
so euer he answered: therfore he putt his lyfe in  
goddies hande and answered thus as folowith

This is the iudgement and sentence geuyn  
vpon sir John Old castell knyght and lorde of  
Cobham the moneday next before michelmesse  
day at the friers prechers in London in the yea  
re of our lorde a thousand foure hundred and  
thirtene: the Archebissshop of Canterbury / the  
bissshop of London / the bissshop of winchester / &  
the bissshop of Bangor / Master Johā witnā /  
Master Johā whytehedde doctours of diuinite  
Master Philip Morgan / Master henry ware  
Master Johā kempe doctours of lawe. And sir  
Robert wambnell vicare of seynt Laurence in  
the iewrie / Master Johā Strenenes / Master  
James Cole notaries / with the foure orders of  
friers / and many other clerkis demyng and cō  
uicting hym for an heretike and a cursed man.  
The Archebissshop made all thes clerkys and  
doctours both religious and seculars to swere  
vpon a booke that they sholde not for loue or fa  
uour of the one partie / nor for any enuy or ha  
trede of the other partie / say nor witnesse but  
truth. And the two forsaide notaries wer swore

also to write & to witnesse y wordis & processe y  
wer to be said on bothe the parties/and to say y  
sothe/if hit otherwyse wer.

After this the lorde of Cobhā came/ and was  
broughte before them all to his examinacion &  
to his answer.

Than the Archebissshop said to hym. Lorde  
of Cobham ye ben auysed well ynoughe of the  
wordis and processe that wer said to you vpon  
saturday laste past in the chapter house of Pau  
lis/the which processe wer now to long to reher  
se. Than I proffered to haue assoiled you (for ye  
wer acursed) of your contumacy and disobediē  
ce to holy churche.

Than said the lorde Cobham for the with.  
God saith. *Maledicā benedictionibus vestris*  
that is to say/ I shall curse your blessinges

Than said the Archebissshop. Sir than I  
peroffered to haue assoiled you if ye wold haue  
asked it/and yet I doo the same.

Than said the lorde of Cobham. May for so  
the/ I trespased nener agcinst you/and therfore  
will I not doo it. And with that he kneled dow  
ne on the pauement/and helde vp his handis &  
said. I shryue me to god and to you all sirs / y  
in my youthe I haue synnyd greatly and gre  
uously in lecherie and in pride and hurte many  
men & done many other horrible synnes / good  
lord I erie the mercie. And therewith weepingly  
he stoode vp ageyn and said. Here/ for the bres  
tyng of goddis lawe and his commaundemens

is ye cursed me not / But for your owne lawes  
and tradiciōs aboue goddis law / and therfore it  
shalt be destroyed.

Than the Archebissshop examined y<sup>e</sup> lord of  
his beleue. And y<sup>e</sup> lord of Cobhā said. I beleue  
nesfully in all goddis law / and I beleue y<sup>e</sup> it is all  
trewe / and I beleue all that god will that I  
beleue.

Than the Archebissshop examined hym of  
the sacramente of the altare / how he beleuyd  
therein.

The lord of Cobhā said. Christe vpon there  
thurs day at nyght sitting with his disciples at  
y<sup>e</sup> supper / after y<sup>e</sup> he hadde supped he tooke brea  
de / and geuyng thankis to the fader he blessed it  
and brake it / and gaue it to his disciples sayn g<sup>o</sup>  
take & eate ye of this all / this is my body y<sup>e</sup> shall  
be betrayed for you / doe you this in the remem  
braunce of me. This beleue I said he.

Than the Archebissshop asked hym / if it wer  
brea de after the consecracion and the sacramē  
tall wordes said.

The lord of Cobham said. I beleue that the  
sacrament of the altare is very Christes body  
in fourme of brea de / the same body y<sup>e</sup> was borne  
of the virgin Mary / done on the crosse / dede  
and buried / and the thirde day rose fro de  
the to lyfe which body is now glorified in he  
uen.

Thā said one of y<sup>e</sup> doctours of law After y<sup>e</sup> sa  
cramētall wordes said / ther remaineth no brede



But the body of Christe.

Than the lord of Cobham said to one Master John whitehede. You said to me in the castle of Cowling/that the ooste sacred was not Christes body But I said/yt was Christes body/though seculars & friers holde eche one agens other in this opinion.

Than said they. We say all that it is goddis body. And they askyd hym whether it wer materiall breade after the consecracion.

Than said the lord I beleue that it is Christes body in fourme of breade Sir belue ye not thus?

And the Archbisshop said. Ye.

Than the doctours askyd hym whether it wer onely Christes body after the consecracion and no breade.

And he said to them. Yt is Christes body & breade: for right as Christe was here in manhode/and the godhede hidde in the manhode/so I belene verely/that Christes flesche and his bloode is hidde there in the fourme of breade.

Than they smylde eche one on other demyng hym takyn in heresy/and said/it is an heresy.

The Archbisshop asked hym/ what breade it was/and the clerkis also whether it wer materiall or not.

Than the lord said/the gospell spekith not of this terme materiall/ad therfore I will not/ but I say/it is Christes body and breade. for y gospell saith. Ego sum panis viuus qui de celo

descendi/that is to say. I am quicke breade/that  
came downe frome heuen. For as oure lord Je  
su Chruste is very god and very man/so the most  
blessed sacrament of the altare is Chrustes body  
and breade.

Than thei said it is an heresy to say that it is  
brede after the consecracion & the sacramentall  
wordes said/but onely Chrustes body.

The lord said. Seynt Paul the apostle was  
as wise as ye be/ & he called it breade/wher he  
saith thus. The breade y<sup>e</sup> we breake/is it not the  
partetaking of y<sup>e</sup> body of the lord?

Than they saide. Paule muste be other wyse  
vnderstanded/for it is an heresy to say that it is  
breade after the consecracion/but onely Chrustes  
body/for it is agaynst the determinacion of the  
churche. Than they asked hi whether he beleued  
not in the determinacion of y<sup>e</sup> churche.

And he said to the. No for sothe/but I beleue  
all goddes lawe and all that god will that I  
beleue/but not in youre lawe nor in youre deter  
minacion/for ye be no parte of holy churche/as  
openly your dedis shewe/but very Antichristes  
contrary to gods law. For ye haue made lawes  
for youre conuersiones.

This they said was heresy/not for to beleue in  
the determinacion of y<sup>e</sup> churche.

Than the Archebishop asked him/what was  
holy churche.

He said. I beleue y<sup>e</sup> holy churche is y<sup>e</sup> number  
of all the that shall be saued/of whom Chrust is

hed/of y<sup>e</sup> which chirch one parte is in heuē/an  
other in purgatorie & the thirde here in erthe.  
This parte here standeth in thre degrees & esta  
tes/priestehode/knighthode/and the communal  
te/as I sayde playnly in my beleue.

Than the archbishop said to hi. Wote you who  
is of this chirche/it is doute to you who is thes  
reof/ye sholde not iudge.

The lorde said. Operibus credite/instrū iudis  
cū iudicate/that is to say. Beleue yethe wo:kes  
iudge ye rightfult iugement. And also he saide  
to them aff. Where fynde ye by gods lawe/that  
ye sholde sit thus vpon any man or ony mannis  
death as ye do/bui Anna & Cayphas sat & iudg  
ged Christe/and so do you.

Thā said they. Yes sir. Christ iudged Judas

The lord of Cobham said. No. Christ iudged  
not Judas/but he iudged himself/& went & hā  
ged himself:but Christe saide. Wo to him/as he  
dothe to many of you. For syns y<sup>e</sup> venyme was  
shed in to y<sup>e</sup> chirche/ye followed neuer Christ/nor  
ye stode neuer in perfection of goddes lawe.

Than the Archebishop asked him what was  
that venyme.

The lorde said. The lordshippes and posses  
syons. For than cried an angell / wo/wo/wo/  
this day is venyme shed into the chirch of god/  
for before that tyme ther wer many martirs of  
popis/and syns I cā tell of none:but for he it is/  
syns y<sup>e</sup> tyme one hath put downe a nother & one  
hath slayne a nother / and one hath cursed a nother



ther as the cronicles tell/also of moche more curs  
sednesse. Also he said. Christ was meke / & the po  
pe is proude. Christ was pore & forgane / y<sup>e</sup> pope  
is riche & a māsleer / as it is opely proued. And  
thus this is y<sup>e</sup> neste of Antichriste / & out of this  
neste cometh Antichristes disciples / of whome  
these monkes & friers ben the taile.

Thā said the priour of y<sup>e</sup> frier Austines. Sir  
why saye ye so?

And y<sup>e</sup> lord of Cobham said / for as ye be pha  
risies deuided / & deuided in habite: so ye make di  
uision amōge y<sup>e</sup> people. And thus thes friers &  
mōkes with soch other / be y<sup>e</sup> mēbres of y<sup>e</sup> neste of  
antichrist. And he said. Christe saith. Wo be to  
you scribes & pharisies ypocrites / for ye close vp  
y<sup>e</sup> kingdome of heuē before mē / for sothe ye enter  
not your self / nor ye will nat suffer them y<sup>e</sup> wo<sup>l</sup>d  
to enter in / & thus ye be y<sup>e</sup> disciples of Antichrist  
for ye will not suffer gods lawe to go thorow  
nor to be taught & preched of good pnestes / whi  
che will speke ageinst your synnes & repreue thē /  
but of soch y<sup>e</sup> be flaterers whiche susleyn you in  
your synnes & cursednes.

Thā said y<sup>e</sup> archbishop. By our lady sir / the  
re shall no soche preache that preachech dissensy  
on & diuision if god will.

Thā said y<sup>e</sup> lord of Cobham to y<sup>e</sup> archbishop  
Christ saith / y<sup>e</sup> ther shall be so greate tribulaciō  
as neuer was syns y<sup>e</sup> beginig. And this shalbe  
in your dayes / & by you: for ye hane slayne many  
mē & mo shall hereafter / but Christ saith excepte

ȝ those dayes were shortened/no flesh sholde be  
saued/but hastily god wil short your dayes. For  
thermore bishops/priestes/ȝ dyacons ben groun-  
ded in goddes lawe/but not thee other religi-  
ons/as ferre as I can wete.

Thā a doctour of lawe one master Ihon fem-  
pe put to hi thes foure poyntes that folowe. The  
faith ȝ the determinaciō of holy churche touching  
ȝ blessed sacrament of ȝ altare is this/ȝ after ȝ  
sacramentall wordes ben said of a priest in his  
masse/ȝ materiall breade ȝ was before is torn-  
ned into Christes body/ȝ the materiall wyne ȝ  
was before is torned into Christes very blode/  
ȝ so there remayneth in ȝ sacrament of ȝ altare  
no materiall breade nor materiall wyne/ȝ whi-  
che wer therebefore the sayng of ȝ sacramētall  
wordes. Sir beleue ye not this?

The lorde of Cobhā said. This is not my be-  
leue. For my beleue is as I saide to you before/  
that ȝ worshipfull sacrament of ȝ altare is ves-  
ry chrisles body/in fourme of breade.

Than said the archebishoppe. Sir. Ihon/ye  
must say otherwise.

The lorde of Cobham said. Nay/ȝf god will  
but that it is chrisles body in fourme of breade/  
as all the comon beleue is.

The doctour said. The seconde is this/ȝ hos-  
ly churche hath determined/ȝ every chrisē man  
lynyng bodely vpon erth owerth to be shruē to a  
pueste ordered by ȝ churche/if he maye come to  
him. Sir what say ye to this?

The lord answered and said A seafe man  
and sore wounded hadde nedeto haue a sure le  
che and a trewe/ knowing his cure/ and therfor  
re a man sholde principally be sh:even to god/  
and els his confession is noucht. And a mā shol  
de rather go & be counsellid with a good prieste  
that knowith goddis lawe and liueth thereaf  
ter than with his owne prieste if he wer an euyl  
man or with eny other soche.

The doctour said. The thirde is this. Chri  
ste ordenyd seynt Peter aposile to be his vicare i  
erthe/ whose see is y<sup>e</sup> churche of Rome ordenyng  
and graunting that the same power that he ga  
ue to peter sholde succede to all Peters succes  
sours the which we call now the popis of Ro  
me/ by whose power in the churche particularly  
and specially ben ordenyd prelates as Arches  
bisschopis/ Bisschopes/ & other degrees to whos  
me ch:risten men owe to obeye after the lawe of y<sup>e</sup>  
churche of Rome. This is the determinacion of  
the churche.

To this he answered and said. Who that fol  
loweth next Peter in liuyng is next hym in suc  
cession/ but your liuyng refuseth poore peters  
liuyng and many other popes that wer martirs  
in Rome that folowed peter in maner of liuyng  
whos condicions ye haue clene forsafyn/ all the  
worlde may knowe it well.

The doctour said. The fourth pointe is this.  
Holy churche hath determined/ that it is medes  
full to a ch:risten man to go on pilgrimages to



holy places/and there specially to worship holy  
ly reliques of seyntes/apostles/martires/confess  
sours and all seymes approuyd by the churche  
of Rome.

To this he said. Yt wer ynough to bury saintes  
sayre in the erthe/ but now sayntes that be  
deade ben compellid to begge for conetousnes  
the which in their lyfe hated conetousnes and  
begging/ but I say to you all/ and knowe it for  
a treuthe/ that with your shrynes and ydoles &  
your feyned absolucions and indulgencis and  
your reþoraltes/ ye drawe to you all the richesse  
of this worlde. Why sir said one of the clerks/  
wilt ye not wor:ship ymagis?

What wor:ship saide the lorde.

Thā said frier Palmer. Sir ye wilt wor:ship  
the crosse of Chryste that he died on.

Where is it? said the lorde.

The frier said. I put case sir that it wer here  
before you.

The lorde said. This is a redy man to put  
to me a question of a thing/ that they wote ne  
uer where it is. And yet I aske you/ what wor:  
ship.

A clerke said. Soche worship as Paul spe  
fith of/ that is this. God forbid me to ioye but in  
the crosse of our lorde Jesu Chryste.

Than said the lorde / and spred his armes  
abrode. This is a very crosse.

Than said the bissshop of London. Sir ye  
wote well that he died on a materiaill crosse.

Than said the lorde. Our saluacion cam in  
onely by hym that died on the crosse and by the  
materiali crosse. And well I wote y this was  
the crosse that Paulioyed on/that is/in the pas  
sion of our lord Jesu Churste.

The Archebissshop said. Sir Johñ ye muste  
submit you to the ordinaunce of the chirche.

The lorde said. I wote not wherto.

Than the Archebissshop redde a bitt of his  
iugement and conuicted hym for an heretike.

After the reding of the bitt / the lorde said.  
Though ye iudge my body / I hope to god that  
he will saue my soule and he said that he wold  
stande to the death by these thinges before said.  
With the helpe of Jesu. And than he said to all  
the people. Sirs for goddis loue be well ware  
of thes men / for they will begile you els / and le  
de you blyndelinges in to hett and themself als  
so. For Churste saith if one blynde man lede a no  
ther / bothe fall in to the ditch. And after this /  
thus he praied for his enemies and said. Lorde  
god I beseeche the forgyue my persecuters / if it  
be thy will. And than he was ledde a geynet y  
towre of London / and thus was the ende.

**W**hile the lorde of Cobham was in the  
towre he sent out priuely to his frenz  
dis / and they at his desyre ensourmyd  
and writ this bitt that folowith next / commens  
ding it to y people / that they sholde cease y sclau  
dere & leasynges / y his enemies made on hym.

**H**was mekill as sir John Oldcastle  
knyght and lord of Cobham is vns  
treuly conuicted and prysoned / and  
falsly reported and sclaundered among the pes  
ople by his aduersaries / y<sup>e</sup> he sholde other  
wyse feale & speke of the sacramentis of  
holy churche / and speciallly of the bless  
sed sacrament of the altare / than  
was witten in his beleue  
which was indented &  
takyn to the clergie  
and set vp in di  
uerse opyn  
placis  
in the ci  
te of London

Knownen be it to all  
the world that he neuer  
varied in any poynte there fro  
but this is playnly his beleue that  
all the sacramentes of holy churche ben  
profitable and medefull to all the that shal  
be sauyd takynge them after the entent that god  
and holy churche hath ordenyd. ferther  
more he beleuith that the blessed sa  
crament of the altare is ve  
rely and treuly Chris  
tes body in four  
me of breade

Trewth long hyd now ys dysclosed /  
Praysed be god. Amen.



ff  
15  
d  
cs